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THE WORKS OF M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

WITH

Notes, Hiſtorical and Critical,

By T. SMOLLET, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

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CHAP. CLXXIII.

Conqueſt of the FRANCHE-COMTE. Peace of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

THE whole court was taken up with the diverſions at St. Germain's, when, in the midſt of winter, in the month of January, every one was ſurpriſed to ſee troops in motion on all ſides, and ſeveral bodies coming and going on the road to Champagne, in the three biſhoprics. Several trains of battering cannon, and waggons loaded with ammunition, ſtopped under different pretences on the route which leads from Champagne to Burgundy. This part of France was filled with movements, of which no one could conjecture the cauſe. Foreigners through intereſt, and the courtiers through curioſity, exhauſted themſelves in ſurmizes: Germany was alarmed; but every one was alike ignorant of the object of theſe vaſt preparations and irregular marches. Never

was more ſecrecy obſerved in a conſpiracy than in this expedition of Lewis XIV. At length, on the ſecond of February, the king himſelf ſet out from St. Germain's, with the young duke of Enguien and ſome of his courtiers, the other officers were at the place of rendezvous appointed for the troops. He made long journeys on horſeback, and arrived at Dijon. Twenty thouſand men, who had been aſſembled on different routes, met the ſame day in the Franche-Comté, at ſome [illegible] from Beſançon, and the great Condé appeared at their head, having his friend Bouteville-Montmorency * for his chief lieutenant-general, lately made duke of Luxembourg, and who had always preſerved an inviolable attachment to him through every change of his fortune. Luxembourg had ſtudied the art of war under the great Condé, and his great merit obliged the king, who did not love him, to employ him.

The ſprings of this unforeſeen expedition were theſe: the prince of Condé was jealous of Turenne's reputation †; and Louvois ‡ of his

* Francis Henry de Montmorency, duke of Luxembourg, peer and marechal of France, count de Bouteville and de Luſſe, lord of Breey, &c. was the poſthumous ſon of Francis de Montmorency, count de Luſſe and de Bouteville, and became one of the greateſt generals that France ever produced.

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‡ Louvois Francis Michael le Tellier marquis de Louvois, was the eldeſt ſon of Michael le Tellier chancellor of France. As ſecretary of war, and afterwards miniſter of ſtate, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his capacity and diligence, and was famous for the art of providing magazines for the uſe of armies.

favour

favour with his maſter. Condé's jealouſy was that of an hero, Louvois' that of a miniſter. The prince, who was governor of Burgundy, which borders upon the Franche-Comté, had formed the project of making himſelf maſter of this province during the winter ſeaſon, in as ſhort a time as Turenne had taken in the foregoing ſummer to make the conqueſt of French Flanders. He immediately communicated his ſcheme to Louvois, who eagerly embraced it, glad of an opportunity of removing Turenne to a diſtance, and making him uſeleſs, and at the ſame time of ſerving his maſter.

This province, which was then very poor, but extremely well peopled, is forty leagues long, and twenty broad. It was called the Franche-Comté, (or the free country,) and was actually ſo; for the Spaniſh kings were rather its protectors than its maſters: and though this country was in the government of Flanders, yet it was very little dependent on it. The adminiſtration was divided and diſputed between the parliament and the governor of Franche-Comté. The people enjoyed many conſiderable privileges, which the court of Madrid were cautious of infringing, being deſirous to keep fair with a province that was jealous of its rights, and ſo near a neighbour to France. Never did people live under a milder government, or were more attached to their ſovereigns. They had preſerved an affection to the houſe of Auſtria for near two generations; but this was rather the love of their liberty.

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inhabitants; and notwithſtanding what is ſaid by Peliſſon, Lewis did not confine himſelf merely to force on this occaſion.

He began by gaining over ſome of the inhabitants, by preſents and promiſes. He made ſure of the abbot John Watteville, brother to him who having inſulted the French ambaſſador at a public entry at London, had by this outrage occaſioned the humiliation of the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Auſtria*. This abbot, who had formerly been an officer, then a Carthuſian friar, afterwards a Turk, and laſt of all a churchman, had the promiſe of being made high dean, and of having ſeveral other preferments in the church. The count of St. Amour, the governor's nephew, was likewiſe bribed, and the governor himſelf at laſt proved not inflexible. A number of the counſellors of the parliament were bought at a reaſonable rate, and all theſe private intrigues were at their very beginning ſeconded by an army of twenty thouſand men. Beſançon, the capital of the province, is inveſted by the prince of Condé. Luxembourg marches to Salins; and the next day Beſançon and Salins ſurrender. Beſançon inſiſted on no other terms of capitulation than that it ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the holy handkerchief, which was held in great reverence in that city, and which was very readily granted them. The king being arrived at Dijon, Louvois, who had haſtened to the frontiers to direct all the marches, comes and informs them at the ſame time, that theſe two towns are beſieged and taken. The king

* See Chap. CLXXI. Vol. VI.

immediately flies to ſhew himſelf to fortune, who did every thing for him.

He next went and laid ſiege to Dole, in perſon, a place reputed very ſtrong, in which the count of Montrevel commanded; a perſon of diſtinguiſhed valour, who, out of a greatneſs of mind was faithful to the Spaniſh government, which he hated, and a parliament which he deſpiſed. His garriſon conſiſted of no more than four hundred ſoldiers, and the inhabitants of the place, and yet he bravely reſolved to defend it. The trenches were not carried on in form; for no ſooner were they opened than a crowd of young volunteers, who had followed the king, flew to attack the counterſcarp, on which they made a lodgment. The prince of Condé, whoſe age and experience gave him a more ſedate courage, ſupported them properly, and by ſharing in their danger extricated them from it. This prince was every where with his ſon; and went to give an account of all that paſſed to the king, as if he had been an officer who had his fortune to make. The king remained in his quarters, where he diſplayed the dignity of a monarch in his court, rather than that impetuous ardour which is by no means neceſſary. The ſame ceremonials were obſerved there as at St. Germain's. He had his great couché, and his leſſer one; he had his drawing-rooms, his public audience hall in his tent, and never ſtooped from the dignity of the throne in any other reſpect than that of permitting his general officers and aids-de-camp to dine at the ſame table with him. He never was ſeen to expoſe himſelf to the ruder fatigues of war, nor to ſhew that raſh

courage for which Francis I. and Henry IV. were ſo famous, who greedily ſought after danger in all ſhapes. He was contented with not fearing it himſelf, and with encouraging all about him to ruſh into it with ardour for his ſervice. He entered Dole after four days ſiege, and twelve days after his departure from St. Germain's, and in leſs than three weeks the whole province of Franche-Comté was reduced. The Spaniſh council, both amazed and incenſed at the ſmall reſiſtance which had been made, told the governor in a letter, "That the French king ſhould have ſent his valets to take poſſeſſion of the province, inſtead of marching againſt it in perſon."

So much ambition and good fortune rouſed Europe from its lethargy. The empire began to ſtir, and the emperor to raiſe troops. The Swiſs nation, who are neighbours to the people of Franche-Comté, and who have nothing to depend upon but their liberty, trembled for themſelves. The reſt of Flanders might be invaded the enſuing ſpring: the Dutch, whoſe intereſt it had always been to have the French their friends, ſhuddered at the thoughts of having them for neighbours. Spain had then recourſe for protection, and actually received it from that inconſiderable nation, which it had hitherto looked upon as a contemptible and rebellious people.

Holland was then governed by John de Witt, who had been choſen grand penſionary, when he was only twenty-five years old; a man who had the freedom of his country as much at heart as his own perſonal greatneſs: wedded to the old republican principles, frugality and moderation,

ration, he kept only one man and a maid, and walked always on foot at the Hague, while in the negociations of Europe his name was ranked with that of the moſt powerful kings: he was a perſon of unwearied application, of the greateſt regularity, prudence, and aſſiduity in public affairs; an excellent citizen, a great politician, and yet in the end very unfortunate.

He had contracted a friendſhip with Sir William Temple, the Engliſh ambaſſador at the Hague, which is rarely to be found between ſtateſmen. Sir William was a philoſopher, who blended a taſte for literature with public affairs, and an honeſt man, notwithſtanding that biſhop Burnet has reproached him with atheiſm; he was born with a prudent republican genius, loved Holland like his own country, becauſe it was the ſeat of liberty, of which he was as jealous as the grand penſionary himſelf. Theſe two excellent members of community, joined with count Dohna, the Swediſh ambaſſador, to ſtop the French king's progreſs.

This period was diſtinguiſhed by rapid events. That part of Flanders which is called French Flanders had been all taken within three months, and the Franche-Comté in the ſpace of three weeks. The treaty entered into between Holland, England, and Sweden, for maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and bridling the ambition of Lewis XIV. was propoſed and concluded in five days time *.

The French monarch was not a little incenſed, that a pitiful ſtate like that of Holland ſhould have preſumed to think of ſetting bounds

* This was called the triple alliance.

to his conqueſts, and being the arbiter between crowned heads; and ſtill more ſo, that it was in a condition to do it. He was ſenſibly affected with this indignity put upon his greatneſs by the Dutch, which he was obliged to ſwallow for the preſent; but for which he from that inſtant meditated revenge.

Ambitious, powerful, and incenſed as he was, he yet found it moſt prudent to divert the ſtorm which began to gather from all parts of Europe. He himſelf made the firſt overtures for peace. Aix-la-Chapelle was pitched upon by the courts of France and Spain for the place of conferences, and the new pope, Roſpiglioſi, (Clement IX.) was choſen mediator.

The court of Rome, to cover its weakneſs with a ſhew of credit, earneſtly contended for the honour of being the arbiter between crowned heads. It had been diſappointed at the peace of the Pyrennees; but it ſeemed to have carried its point at this of Aix-la-Chapelle. A nuncio was ſent to the congreſs, to be a phantom of an arbiter between phantoms of plenipotentiaries. The Dutch, who already began to feel a thirſt for honour, would not ſhare that of concluding what they had begun with any other. Accordingly every thing was in fact ſettled at St. Germain's, by their ambaſſador Van-Beuning. What had been privately agreed upon there with him, was ſent to Aix-la-Chapelle to be ſigned in great pomp by the miniſters aſſembled at the congreſs. Who could have ſuppoſed thirty years before, that a burgher of Holland would oblige the kings of France and Spain to abide by his arbitration?

This

This Van-Beuning, who was burgomaſter of Amſterdam, had all the vivacity of a Frenchman, with the pride of a Spaniard. He took a pleaſure to thwart the king's imperious diſpoſition on all occaſions; and oppoſed a republican inflexibility to the magiſterial tone, which the French miniſters began to aſſume. "Do you doubt the king's word?" ſaid monſieur de Lionne to him, one day at a conference. "I know not what the king may intend, ſaid Van-Beuning, I only conſider what he may do." In ſhort, at the court of the proudeſt monarch in the world, a ſimple burgomaſter concluded by his own authority a peace by which the king was obliged to reſtore the Franche-Comté. The Dutch would have been much better pleaſed that he had reſtored Flanders, by which they would have been freed from ſo formidable a neighbour: but all Europe thought the king ſhewed ſufficient moderation, in parting with the Franche-Comté. However, he was a greater gainer by keeping the towns in Flanders, as by this means he opened himſelf a way into Holland, whoſe deſtruction he meditated even while he appeared to make the greateſt conceſſions. May 2

CHAP. CLXXIV.

Magnificence of LEWIS XIV. Conqueſt of HOLLAND.

LEWIS XIV. being obliged to remain peaceable for ſome time, continued, as he had begun, to regulate, fortify, and embelliſh his kingdom. His example ſhewed, that an abſolute prince, who has good intentions, can compaſs the greateſt things without difficulty. He had only to command; and the ſucceſſes in the adminiſtration were no leſs rapid than his conqueſts had been. It was a thing truly wonderful to ſee the ſea-ports, which were in a manner deſolate and in ruins, now ſurrounded with works which ſerved at once for their ornament and defence, full of ſhipping and ſeamen, and containing upwards of ſixty large veſſels, which might occaſionally be fitted for war. New colonies were every day ſailing from all the ports in the kingdom, under the protection of the French flag, for America, the Eaſt Indies, and the coaſt of Barbary. At the ſame time, thouſands of hands were employed at home under the king's eye, in raiſing immenſe edifices, and in all the arts which architecture introduces; while thoſe of the more noble and ingenious kind embelliſhed the court and capital, and diffuſed a degree of delight and fame over the kingdom, of which the preceding age had not even an idea. Literature flouriſhed, and good taſte and ſound reaſoning made their way into the ſchools of error and barbariſm. But a more

more circumſtantial account of theſe things, which made the happineſs and glory of France, will be found in their proper place in this work: at preſent we muſt confine ourſelves to general and military affairs.

At this period Portugal exhibited a ſtrange ſpectacle to the reſt of Europe. Don Alphonſo, the unworthy ſon of the fortunate Don John of Braganza, reigned in that kingdom. He was a weak and hot-headed man. His wife, who was daughter to the duke of Nemours, had conceived a paſſion for his brother, Don Pedro, and had the boldneſs to form a deſign of dethroning her huſband and marrying the man ſhe loved. The brutiſhneſs of her huſband in ſome meaſure juſtified this bold attempt of the queen's. Alphonſo was of a more than common bodily ſtrength: he had had a child by a courtezan, whom he publickly acknowledged for his own: he had for a long time cohabited with the queen his wife, and yet, notwithſtanding all this, ſhe accuſed him of impotency, and having by her dexterous management acquired that authority in the kingdom, which her huſband had loſt by his mad frenzy; ſhe ſhut him up in a priſon, and obtained a diſpenſation from the pope to marry her brother-in-law. It is not in the leaſt ſurpriſing that the court of Rome ſhould grant theſe diſpenſations; but it is very extraordinary, that thoſe who have the power in their own hands ſhould ſtand in need of them. This event, which affected only the royal family, and cauſed no revolution in the kingdom of Portugal, nor produced any change in the affairs of Europe,

merits our attention only on account of its ſingularity.

France ſoon afterwards gave aſylum to a king who deſcended from the throne in another manner: this was John Caſimir, king of Poland, who renewed the example of queen Chriſtina. Tired by the fatigues of government, and deſirous to live happily, he pitched upon Paris for the place of his retreat, and retired to the abbey of St. Germain, of which he was abbot. Paris, which had for ſome years paſt been the abode of all the arts, afforded a delightful reſidence for a prince who ſought the enjoyment of ſocial pleaſures, and was a lover of learning. He had been a jeſuit and a cardinal, before he was king; and now, equally diſguſted with the regal and eccleſiaſtical ſtate, was only deſirous of living as a private perſon and a philoſopher, and would never ſuffer the title of majeſty to be given him at Paris.

But an affair of a more intereſting nature took up the attention of all the Chriſtian potentates.

The Turks, who, though not ſo formidable as under their Mahomets, their Selims, and their Solymans, were ſtill dangerous, and ſtrengthened by our diviſions, had been laying ſiege to the iſland of Candy for above two years, with all the forces of the empire. We can hardly ſay whether it was moſt aſtoniſhing, that the Venetians made ſo long a defence, or that the princes of Europe ſhould have abandoned them.

Times were greatly changed. Formerly, when Chriſtendom was in a barbarous ſtate, a pope, or even a monk, could ſend forth millions of Chriſtians

ſtians to make war upon the Mahometans in their own empire: our dominions were ſtripped of men and money, to make the conqueſt of the wretched and barren province of Judæa; and now that the iſland of Candy, deemed the bulwark of Chriſtendom, was over-run by ſixty thouſand Turks; the Chriſtian kings looked on with indifference while it was loſt. A few gallies ſent by the Malteſe and the pope, were the only ſuccours this republic received to defend itſelf againſt the whole Ottoman empire. The ſenate of Venice, with all its prudence, was unable with ſuch weak ſuccours to withſtand the grand vizir Kiuperli, who was an able miniſter, a ſtill more able general, and maſter of the Turkiſh empire, aſſiſted by a formidable army, and even provided with good engineers.

Lewis in vain attempted to ſet the other princes of Europe an example in aſſiſting Candy. The galleys and ſhips of war which he had newly built in the port of Toulon tranſported thither ſeven thouſand men, under the command of the duke of Beaufort: but this aſſiſtance proved too weak in this dangerous conjuncture, no other court chuſing to imitate the generoſity of France.

A private French gentleman, named La Feuillade, did an action on this occaſion which had no example but in the old times of chivalry. He carried near three hundred gentlemen over to Candy at his own expence, though he had but a moderate fortune. If any other nation had aſſiſted the Venetians in the ſame proportion with La Feuillade, it is more than probable that the iſland might have been ſaved.

Theſe

Theſe ſuccours, however, only ſerved to retard its fall for ſome days, and to ſpill a great deal of blood to no purpoſe. The duke of Beaufort was killed in a ſally; and the city, reduced to a heap of aſhes, was ſurrendered to the grand vizir by capitulation.

Sept. 16 1669

At this ſiege, the Turks had ſhewed themſelves ſuperior even to the Chriſtians, in the knowledge of the military art. The largeſt cannon which had hitherto been ſeen in Europe, were caſt in their camp. They were the firſt who drew parallel lines in the trenches. It is from them that we learnt this cuſtom; but they were indebted for it themſelves to an Italian engineer. It is certain, that a victorious people, ſuch as the Turks then were, with their experience, courage, riches, and that unwearied perſeverance which then made their diſtinguiſhing character, might have conquered Italy, and made themſelves maſters of Rome in a very little time; but the daſtardly emperors they have ſince had, their bad generals, and their faulty adminiſtration, have preſerved Chriſtendom.

The king, little affected with theſe diſtant events, waited only for the ripening of his grand project, of conquering all the Netherlands, and beginning by Holland. The opportunity became every day more favourable. This little republic was miſtreſs of the ſeas, but by land nothing could be more weak. In alliance with England and Spain, and at peace with France, ſhe placed too much ſecurity in treaties, and the advantages accruing from an immenſe trade: and with a well diſciplined and invincible naval power,

power her land forces were as badly provided and contemptible. The cavalry was compoſed only of burghers, who never ſtirred out of their houſes, and payed the dregs of the people to do duty in their ſtead. The infantry was nearly upon the ſame footing. Commiſſions in the army, and even the command of garriſon towns, were given to children, or the relations of burgomaſters, brought up in idleneſs and inexperience, who conſidered their poſts in the ſame light as prieſts do their benefices. The penſionary, John de Witt, endeavoured to reform this abuſe; but he did not endeavour at it ſufficiently, and this was one of the great faults of this famous republican.

In order to facilitate Lewis's ſcheme, it was previouſly neceſſary to detach England from its alliance with the Dutch, whoſe ruin ſeemed inevitably to follow, upon their being deprived of this ſupport. The king found no difficult matter to perſuade Charles II. to concur in his deſigns. This monarch indeed was not much affected with the diſgrace thrown upon his reign and the Engliſh nation, when his ſhips were burnt even in the river Thames by the Dutch fleet. He entertained no thoughts of revenge or conqueſt. He was deſirous of enjoying a life of pleaſure, and reigning as much as poſſible without controul. This was his weak ſide: accordingly Lewis, who had only to ſpeak the word, and be ſupplied with what money he had occaſion for, promiſed Charles a very conſiderable ſum, who was not able to raiſe any himſelf without the concurrence of his parliament. This ſecret alliance between the two kings was known to no 1670

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one in France but Madame, ſiſter to Charles II. and wife to Monſieur, the king's brother, to Louvois, and Turenne.

A young princeſs then, who was only twenty-five years of age, was the plenipotentiary pitched upon to put the finiſhing hand to this treaty with Charles. A viſit which the king was to make to his new conqueſts of Dunkirk and Liſle ſerved as a pretence for Madame's journey over to England. The pomp and grandeur of the ancient kings of Aſia were nothing in compariſon with the magnificence of this excurſion. The king was always preceded or followed by thirty thouſand men, while on the road, ſome of whom were deſtined to reinforce the garriſons of the conquered countries, others to work at the fortifications, and the reſt to level the roads. His majeſty was likewiſe accompanied by the queen his conſort, all the princeſſes of the blood, and the moſt beautiful ladies of his court, amongſt whom Madame ſhone with a ſuperior luſtre, and ſecretly enjoyed the glory and ſatisfaction of all this parade, which was wholly on her account. It was one continual feaſt from St. Germain to Liſle.

The king, willing to gain the hearts of his new ſubjects, and to dazzle the eyes of the neighbouring ſtates, diſtributed his liberalities wherever he came, to a degree of profuſion. The moſt magnificent preſents were laviſhed upon every one who had the leaſt pretext for ſpeaking to him. The princeſs Henrietta embarked at Calais to pay a viſit to her brother, who was already come as far as Canterbury to receive her. Charles, blinded by the love he bore his ſiſter, and the great ſums promiſed him from

from France, ſigned every thing that Lewis XIV. deſired, and laid a foundation for the ruin of Holland, in the midſt of feaſtings and diverſions.

The loſs of Madame *, who died in a ſudden and ſhocking manner, immediately upon her return from England, and drew great ſuſpicions upon the duke of Orleans her huſband, made no alteration in what had been reſolved upon between the two kings. The ſpoils of the republic they had devoted to deſtruction, were already ſhared by the ſecret treaty between them, in the ſame manner as Flanders had been ſhared between the Dutch and the French in 1635. Thus ſtates frequently change their views, their alliances, and their enmities, and are not unfrequently diſappointed, in all their projects. The rumour of this approaching expedition began to ſpread abroad, but Europe liſtened to it without being ſtirred. The emperor, taken up with ſeditions in Hungary, the Swede lulled aſleep by negociations, and the Spaniſh monarchy ſtill weak and ever irreſolute and ſlow in its determinations, left Lewis XIV. to follow the career of his ambition uninterrupted.

To complete its misfortune, Holland was at that time divided into two factions, the one

* The dutcheſs of Orleans, immediately after her return to France, was, in conſequence of drinking a glaſs of ſaccory water, by her phyſician's direction, ſeized with racking pains in the bowels, of which ſhe died. She was ſuppoſed to have fallen a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of her huſband, who ſeemed to take umbrage at the intimacy of friendſhip that ſubſiſted between her and his brother Lewis XIV.

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compoſed of rigid republicans, to whom the leaſt ſhadow of abſolute authority ſeemed a monſter contrary to the laws of human ſociety: the other of republicans of a more moderate diſpoſition, who were deſirous of inveſting the young prince of Orange, afterwards the famous William III. with the poſts and dignities of his anceſtors. The grand penſionary John de Wit, and his brother Cornelius, were at the head of the rigid ſticklers for liberty; but the young prince's party began to gain ground. The republic was more attentive to its domeſtic diſſentions, than to the danger which threatened it from without, and thus contributed to its own ruin.

Lewis not only purchaſed the king of England, but he likewiſe brought over the elector of Cologne, and the famous Van Galen, biſhop of Munſter, who was greedy of war and plunder, and was naturally an enemy to the Dutch. Lewis had formerly aſſiſted them againſt the biſhop, and now joined with him for their deſtruction. The Swedes, who had joined with the republic in 1668, to check the progreſs of a conqueror who had then no deſigns againſt them, abandoned her as ſoon as they ſaw her threatened with ruin, and renewed their old connections with France, on condition of receiving the former ſubſidies.

It is ſomewhat ſingular and worthy of remark, that of all the enemies who were about to fall upon this petty ſtate, there was not one that could alledge a lawful pretext for entering into the war. This was much ſuch an undertaking as the league between Lewis XII. the emperor Maximilian and the king of Spain, who.

who entered into a covenant to deſtroy the republic of Venice, only for being rich and haughty.

The ſtates-general in the utmoſt conſternation wrote to the king, beſeeching him in the humbleſt manner to let them know if the great preparations he was making were really deſtined againſt them, his ancient friends and faithful allies? How they had offended him, or what ſatisfaction he required? To theſe remonſtrances he returned for anſwer, "That he ſhould employ his troops in ſuch manner as became his dignity, for which he ſhould be accountable to no one." All the reaſons his miniſters could give were, that the writer of the Dutch Gazette had been too inſolent, and that Van Beuning was ſaid to have cauſed a medal to be ſtruck, reflecting upon the honour of Lewis XIV. Van Beuning's Chriſtian name was Joſhua. A taſte for devices prevailed at that time in France. Lewis XIV. had taken a ſun for his, with this legend: *Nec pluribus impar.*" Now it was pretended that Van Beuning, in the medal in queſtion, which however never had exiſtence, was repreſented with a ſun, and theſe words for the motto: *In conſpectu meo ſtetit ſol*: "At ſight of me the ſun ſtood ſtill*." It is certain, that the ſtates-general had ordered a medal to be ſtruck,

* It is certain that a medal was afterwards ſtruck in Holland, which was ſuppoſed to be that of Van Beuning, but it had no date, on which there is the repreſentation of a battle, with the meridian ſun darting its rays down upon the combatants, with this legend: *Stetit ſol in medio cæli.* This medal, which was the work of ſome private perſons, was not ſtruck till after the battle of Hochſtet, or

ſtruck, expreſſing all the glorious deeds of the republic in the following legend: *Aſſertis legibus, emendatis ſacris, adjutis defenſis, conciliatis regibus, vindicata marium libertate, ſtabilita orbis Europæ quiete:* "The laws aſſerted, religion amended, princes ſuccoured, defended, and reconciled; the freedom of the ocean vindicated, and peace reſtored to Europe."

In all this they boaſted of nothing more than they had done, and yet they ordered the mould of this medal to be broke, in order to appeaſe Lewis's anger.

The king of England on his ſide pretended that their fleet denied the honours due to the Engliſh flag, by refuſing to lower their topſails to an Engliſh pleaſure-boat, and complained of a certain picture in which Cornelius de Wit, the penſionary's brother, was painted with the enſigns of a conqueror. On the back-ground the painter had exhibited a repreſentation of ſhips on fire. The truth is, that Cornelius de Wit, who bore a conſiderable ſhare in the maritime exploits againſt England, had indulged himſelf in this trifling monument of his fame; but the picture itſelf was in a manner unknown, and hung in a room where hardly any one ever entered. The Engliſh miniſters, who had tranſmitted their maſter's pretended grievances in

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or Blenheim, in 1709, and relates to theſe two verſes which were handed about at that time:

Alter in egregio nuper certamine Joſue
Clamavit, ſol ſta Gallice, ſolque ſtetit.

Now, Van Beuning's Chriſtian name was Conrad, and not Joſhua.

writing

writing to the ſtates-general, made mention of certain "Abuſive Pictures." Now the Dutch, who always tranſlate the memorials of foreign miniſters into French, had rendered the term "Abuſive," by the French word *fautifs*, *trompeurs*, falſe or lying pictures; upon which they returned for anſwer, that they did not know what was meant by *lying pictures*; in ſhort, they never once conceived, that it related to this portrait of their fellow-citizen, nor could they imagine this to be a pretext for the war.

All that the efforts of ambition and human foreſight could deviſe for the deſtruction of a nation, was put in practice by Lewis XIV. The hiſtory of mankind hardly furniſhes us with an inſtance of ſuch formidable preparations being made for ſo ſmall an expedition. Of all the different conquerors that have invaded a part of the world, not one ever began the career of conqueſt with ſo many regular troops, and ſo much money, as Lewis employed in ſubduing the petty ſtate of the United Provinces. No leſs than fifty millions, which were worth ninety-ſeven millions of our preſent currency, were expended in theſe pompous preparations. Thirty men of war, of fifty guns each, joined the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of an hundred ſail. The king, accompanied by his brother the duke of Orleans, marched at the head of one hundred and twelve thouſand men towards Maeſtricht and Charleroi, on the frontiers of Spaniſh Flanders and Holland. The biſhop of Munſter and the elector of Cologne had about twenty thouſand more. The prince of Condé and the marſhal Turenne were the head-generals of the king's army, and the duke of Luxembourg

embourg commanded under them. Vauban had the direction of the ſieges. Louvois was preſent in all places, with his cuſtomary vigilance. Never was there ſo magnificent an army, and at the ſame time ſo well diſciplined; but the king's houſhold troops, which were newly reformed, made a moſt glorious ſpectacle. They conſiſted of four companies of *gardes du corps*, or body-guards, each company compoſed of three hundred gentlemen, among whom there were a conſiderable number of young cadets, who ſerved without pay, but were equally ſubject to ſtrict military diſcipline with the reſt; two hundred gendarmes of the guard, two hundred light-horſe, five hundred muſketeers, three hundred choſen gentlemen remarkable for their youth and handſome appearance, twelve companies of gendarmerie, ſince augmented to the number of ſixteen; even the hundred Swiſs regiment accompanied the king on this occaſion, and the royal regiment of French and Swiſs guards mounted before the houſe where he took up his reſidence, or at the door of his tent. Theſe troops, the greater part of whom were covered with gold and ſilver, were at once the object of terror and admiration to a people who were ſtrangers to all kind of magnificence; and the exact diſcipline which was kept up in this army, made it appear in a different light to any that had yet been ſeen. There were at that time no inſpectors of the horſe and foot, as there has ſince been; but theſe offices were performed by two men who were ſingular in their way. Martinet * put the infantry upon the

* Hence all ſtrict diſciplinarians have been diſtinguiſhed by the name of Martinets.

footing of diſcipline in which we now ſee it; and the chevalier de Fourilles did the ſame by the cavalry. Martinet had, a year before, introduced the uſe of the bayonet among ſome of the regiments: before him it had never been made uſe of in a conſtant or uniform manner. This laſt effort of what perhaps is the moſt terrible of the whole military art, was already known, but had been little practiſed, becauſe ſpears were ſtill much in uſe. This ſame officer likewiſe invented copper boats for bridges, which might eaſily be tranſported in waggons, or on horſeback. The king, ſecure of ſucceſs and glory from all theſe advantages, carried along with him an hiſtorian to write his conqueſts. This was Peliſſon, of whom mention will be made in the article of polite arts, a perſon whoſe talent lay more in good writing than avoiding flattery.

Againſt the great Condé, Turenne, Luxembourg, Vauban, an army of one hundred and thirty thouſand men, an incredible train of artillery, and immenſe ſums of money, to bribe the fidelity of thoſe who commanded garriſon-towns, what had the republic of Holland to oppoſe? A young prince of a weak conſtitution, who had never ſeen a battle or a ſiege, and about twenty-five thouſand bad ſoldiers, which were all the ſtrength of the country. William, prince of Orange, who was about twenty-two years old, had lately been elected captain-general of the land-forces, in ſpite of the oppoſition of John de Witt, who could no longer withſtand the wiſhes of the nation. This prince, under the Dutch phlegm, concealed an ardent ambition and love of glory, which ever afterwards

wards manifeſted itſelf in its conduct, without ever appearing in his diſcourſe. He was of a cold and ſour diſpoſition, but of an active and penetrating genius. His courage, which never abandoned him, ſupported his feeble and languid body under fatigues which ſeemed above his ſtrength. He was valiant without oſtentation, ambitious without being fond of vain glory, and endowed by nature with a phlegmatic obſtinacy, formed for combating adverſity. He delighted in war and politics, and was equally a ſtranger to the joys of ſociety, or the pleaſures attendant upon greatneſs; in a word, he was in almoſt every reſpect the direct oppoſite to Lewis XIV.

He was unable at firſt to make head againſt the torrent which overflowed his country; his forces were but inconſiderable, and even his authority was greatly limited by the ſtates. The whole power of France was ready to fall upon a republic which had nothing to defend it. The imprudent duke of Lorraine, who endeavoured to raiſe troops in order to join his fortune with that of the republic, had juſt beheld his country ſeized upon by the French troops, with as much facility as they can ſeize upon Avignon on any quarrel with the papal ſee.

In the mean time the king cauſed his armies to advance on the ſide of the Rhine, into thoſe countries which border upon Holland, Cologne, and Flanders. He ordered money to be diſtributed among the inhabitants of all the villages which were likely to ſuffer from the march of his troops through them. If a private gentleman made the leaſt complaint to him, he was ſure of being diſmiſſed with a preſent. An en-

voy being ſent from the governor of the Netherlands to make a repreſentation of ſome diſorders committed by the ſoldiers, the king with his own hand preſented him with his picture, richly ſet in diamonds, and valued at upwards of twelve thouſand franks. This behaviour attracted the admiration of the people, and made them ſtand more in awe of his power.

The king was at the head of his houſhold, and a body of his choiceſt troops, in all amounting to thirty thouſand men. Turenne had the command under him. The prince of Condé was likewiſe at the head of as ſtrong an army. The other corps, commanded alternately by Luxembourg and Chamilli, formed occaſionally ſeparate armies, which could all join one another in caſe of neceſſity.

The campaign was opened by the ſiege of four towns at once, Rhinberg, Orſoi, Weſel, and Burick; names which merit a place in this hiſtory only on account of the event. Theſe were all taken almoſt as ſoon as they were inveſted; Rhinberg, which the king thought proper to beſiege in perſon, did not ſtand a ſingle attack; and, in order to make more ſure of its reduction, means had been found to corrupt the lieutenant of the garriſon, one Doſſeri, an Iriſhman, who, after having been baſe enough to ſell his truſt, was ſo imprudent as to retire to Maeſtricht, where the prince of Orange puniſhed his treachery with death.

All the ſtrong holds upon the Iſſel capitulated. Some of the garriſons ſent the keys of their town as ſoon as they perceived two or three ſquadrons of the French appear in ſight. Several officers fled from the towns where they were

in garriſon, even before the enemy had entered their territories: in ſhort, the conſternation was general. The prince of Orange had not a ſufficient force to take the field. All Holland prepared to ſubmit to the yoke as ſoon as the king ſhould croſs the Rhine. The prince of Orange cauſed lines to be drawn with the utmoſt haſte on the other ſide the river; and even after he had done this, he was ſenſible how impoſſible it was for him to defend them. Nothing now remained but to diſcover, if poſſible, in what part the French intended to throw over a bridge, in order to oppoſe their paſſage. In fact, it was the king's intention to paſs the river on a bridge of thoſe little copper boats, invented by Martinet. At that time the prince of Condé had received information from ſome of the country-people, that the dryneſs of the ſeaſon had formed a ford on a branch of the Rhine, near an old caſtle, which ſerved as an office for the toll-gatherers, and was called Toll Huis, or the Toll-houſe. The king ordered this ford to be ſounded. According to Peliſſon, who was an eye-witneſs of the whole, there was not above forty or fifty paces to ſwim over in the midſt of this arm of the river. This was in fact nothing, for a number of horſes a-breaſt entirely broke the current of the water, which was of itſelf very weak. The landing on the oppoſite ſide was very eaſy, as it was defended only by four or five hundred horſemen, and two weak regiments of foot, without any cannon. The French artillery played upon thoſe in flank, while the houſhold troops, and ſome of the beſt of the cavalry, croſſed the river without any hazard, to the number of fifteen thouſand men.

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The prince of Condé croſſed at the ſame time in one of the copper boats. Some few Dutch officers, who at firſt made a ſhew of advancing into the water in order to oppoſe their landing, took to their heels the inſtant the French troops drew near to the ſhore, unable to ſtand before the multitude which came pouring on them. The foot immediately laid down their arms, and called for quarter. This paſſage was effected with the loſs of only a few drunken horſemen, who had ſwam out of their depth; and there would not have been a ſingle life loſt that day, had it not been for the imprudence of the young duke of Longueville, who being, as it is ſaid, overheated with wine, fired his piſtol at ſome of the enemy's people, who had laid down their arms and were begging their lives, crying out, "Give the ſcoundrels no quarter;" and drawing his trigger, ſhot an officer dead. Upon this the Dutch infantry, in a fit of deſpair, inſtantly flew to their arms and made a general diſcharge, by which the duke of Longueville himſelf was killed. A captain of their horſe, named Oſſembrouk, who had not fled with the reſt, rode up to the prince of Condé, who was juſt got on ſhore, and going to mount his horſe, and pointed his piſtol at his head. The prince, by a ſudden motion of his body, turned aſide the piece, and received only a wound in his wriſt, which was the firſt wound he had ever received in all his campaigns. The French immediately fell upon this ſmall body ſword in hand, who began to fly on all ſides. In the mean time the king croſſed the river with the reſt of the army, on a bridge of boats. June 12, 1672

Such was the paſſage of the Rhine; an action which made a great noiſe, was ſingular in its kind, and was celebrated at that time as one of thoſe great events which ought to occupy the memory of mankind. The air of greatneſs with which the king performed all his actions, the rapid ſucceſs of his victories, the glory of his reign, the adulation of his courtiers, and, laſtly, the fondneſs which the common people, eſpecially thoſe of Paris, have in general for every thing that appears extraordinary, or elſe that ignorance of military operations, which prevails among thoſe who paſs a life of idleneſs in great cities, made this paſſage of the Rhine be looked upon as a prodigy. It was the common opinion, that the whole army had ſwam acroſs the river in preſence of the enemy, entrenched on the oppoſite ſide, and in defiance of the fire from an impregnable fortreſs, called the Toll-houſe. It is a certain truth, that the enemy themſelves were greatly impoſed upon in this affair, and that if they had had a body of good troops on the other ſide of the river, the attempt would have been extremely dangerous.

As ſoon as the French army had paſſed the Rhine, it took Doeſbourg, Zutphen, Arnheim, Noſembourg, Nimeguen, Skenk, Bommel, Crevecœur, &c. and there was hardly an hour in the day in which the king did not receive the news of ſome freſh conqueſt. An officer, by name Mazel, ſent monſieur de Turenne word, "That if he would ſend him fifty horſe, he would engage to make himſelf maſter of two or three places."

The inhabitants of Utrecht ſent the keys of their city to the conqueror, and it capitulated, together with the whole province which bears

its name. Lewis made his entry into this city in triumph, accompanied by his high-almoner, his confeſſor, and the titular biſhop of Utrecht. The high church was with great ſolemnity delivered up to the catholics; and the biſhop of Utrecht, who had hitherto only held the empty title, was now for a little time put in poſſeſſion of the real dignity. June 20, 1672

The provinces of Utrecht, Overyſſel, and Gueldres, were actually reduced, and Amſterdam only waited the hour of its ſlavery or deſtruction. The Jews who are ſettled there made intereſt with Gourville, the prince of Condé's confident, and chief manager of his affairs, to accept of two millions of florins, to ſave them from being plundered.

Naerden, which is in the neighbourhood of Amſterdam, was already taken. Four horſemen, who were on a marauding party, advanced to the very gates of Muyden, which is not above a mile from Amſterdam, and where are the ſluices by which the country may be laid under water. The magiſtrates, ſtruck with a panic at the ſight of theſe four ſoldiers, came out and offered them the keys of the town; but at length perceiving that no other troops came up, they took back the keys and ſhut the gates again*. A moment's more diligence would have put Amſterdam into the king's hands. This capital once taken, not only the republic itſelf muſt have fallen, but there would no lon

* The caſtle or citadel of Muyden was preſerved by a female ſervant, who raiſed up the draw-bridge, and ſo prevented the French ſtragglers from taking poſſeſſion.

ger have been ſuch a republic as Holland, and even the country itſelf would have been annihilated. Some of the richeſt families, and thoſe who were moſt zealous lovers of liberty, were preparing to fly to the extremity of the globe, and embark for Batavia. There was actually a liſt made out of the ſhipping fit for undertaking this voyage, and a calculation of the numbers they would carry; when it was found, that fifty thouſand families might be thus tranſported into their new country. Holland then would have exiſted only in the farther end of the Eaſt Indies: its provinces in Europe, who purchaſe their corn wholly with the riches they import from Aſia, who ſubſiſt wholly upon their commerce, and their liberty, if I may uſe that expreſſion, would have been almoſt in an inſtant depopulated and ruined. Amſterdam, the ſtaple and warehouſe of Europe, where three hundred thouſand ſouls are daily employed in cultivating arts and trade, would have become one vaſt marſh. All the lands round about require an immenſe expence, and thouſands of men to raiſe their dykes: thoſe would, in all probability, have been ſtripped at once of their inhabitants and riches, and at length buried under water.

The diſtreſſes of the ſtate were ſtill farther encreaſed by the diviſions which commonly ariſe among unfortunate people, who impute to each other the public calamities. The grand penſionary, John de Wit, thought there was no other way left to ſave what remained of his wretched country, but by ſuing to the victors for peace. Full of a republican ſpirit, and jealous of his perſonal authority, he dreaded the aggrandizement of the houſe of Orange ſtill more

more than the conqueſts of the French king; on this account he had obliged the prince of Orange himſelf to ſwear to the obſervance of a perpetual edict, by which he, the prince, was excluded from the ſtadtholderſhip. Honour, authority, party-ſpirit, and intereſt, all concurred to make de Wit a ſtrenuous aſſerter of this oath; and he choſe rather to ſee his country ſubdued by a victorious king, than under ſubjection to a ſtadtholder.

The prince of Orange, on his ſide, who had more ambition than de Wit, was as much attached to his country, more patient under public calamities, and expecting every thing from time and his own unſhaken conſtancy, tried all means to obtain the ſtadtholderſhip, and oppoſed a peace with as much vehemence as de Wit promoted it. The ſtates, however, came to a reſolution to ſue for peace in ſpite of the prince, but the prince was raiſed to the ſtadtholderſhip in ſpite of de Wit.

Four deputies arrived in the king's camp, to implore mercy in the name of 1672
a republic, who ſix months before looked upon itſelf as the arbiter of kings. Lewis's miniſters did not receive the deputies with that French politeneſs, which blends the mildneſs of civility with the ſeverity of government. Louvois, who was of an haughty and arrogant diſpoſition, and ſeemed better ſuited to ſerve his maſter well than to make him beloved, received the ſuppliants in a diſdainful manner, and even with inſulting raillery. They were obliged to go backwards and forwards ſeveral times, before the king would deign to make his will known to them. At length they were told,

that his majeſty expected the ſtates-general ſhould give up all the places they were in poſſeſſion of on the other ſide of the Rhine, with Nimeguen, and ſeveral other towns and forts in the heart of their country; that they ſhould pay him twenty millions of livres; that the French ſhould be maſters of tranſporting merchandize on all the principal roads in Holland, both by land and water, without ever paying any duty; that the Roman-catholic religion ſhould be every where eſtabliſhed; that the republic ſhould ſend an extraordinary embaſſy to the French court every year, together with a golden medal, on which ſhould be engraved a legend, importing, that they held their freedom of Lewis XIV. laſtly, that they ſhould make ſatisfaction to the king of England, the elector of Cologne, and the biſhop of Munſter, who had joined in the deſolation of their country.

A peace on theſe conditions, which were little better than articles of ſlavery, appeared inſupportable; the haughtineſs of the conqueror inſpired the vanquiſhed with a deſperate courage, and it was unanimouſly reſolved to die fighting. The hearts and hopes of every one were now fixed upon the prince of Orange. The populace grew furious againſt the grand penſionary, who had aſked for peace. The prince by his politics, and his party by their animoſity, increaſed the ferment. An attempt was made upon the grand penſionary's life; and afterwards his brother Cornelius was accuſed of a deſign to murder the prince, and was put to the rack. In the midſt of his tortures he repeated the beginning of this ode of Horace,

Juſtum

Juſtum & tenacem propoſiti virum, which perfectly well ſuited with his condition and courage, and which may be thus tranſlated, for the ſake of thoſe who do not underſtand Latin:

The man in conſcious virtue bold,
Who dares his ſecret purpoſe hold,
Unſhaken hears the croud's tumult'ous cries,
And the impetuous tyrant's angry brow defies.

Let the loud winds that rule the ſeas
Tempeſt'ous their wild horrors raiſe;
Let Jove's dread arm with thunders rend the ſpheres;
Beneath the cruſh of worlds, undaunted he appears.

At length the two brothers were maſſacred at the Hague, by the mad multitude, after one of them had governed the ſtate, for upwards of nineteen years, with the moſt unſpotted integrity, and the other had defended it at the hazard of his life. The moſt ſhocking cruelties which could enter into the imagination of a furious populace, were exerciſed upon their dead bodies. Theſe barbarities are common in all nations, the French themſelves had exerciſed them upon the marſhal d'Ancre, admiral Coligni, &c. for the populace is almoſt every where the ſame. They wreaked their revenge upon all the penſionary's friends; even de Ruyter himſelf, the republic's admiral, and who was the only one who fought her battles with ſucceſs, had his houſe ſurrounded by aſſaſſins at Amſterdam. Aug. 20, 1672

In the midſt of theſe diſorders and deſolations, the magiſtrates gave an example of inte-

grity rarely found in republics. Thoſe private perſons who were poſſeſſed of bank-notes, ran in crouds to the bank of Amſterdam, apprehending that the public ſtock had been broken in upon: every one was for being paid with the little money ſuppoſed to be left. The magiſtrates immediately ordered the vaults to be opened where this treaſure is kept, when it was found entire, as it had been depoſited there, for upwards of ſixty years. The money was ſtill black and diſcoloured, with the fire which had burnt down the town-houſe ſeveral years before. The bank-notes had been negociated till that time, and the money had never been touched; every one was then paid with this money, that choſe to receive it, in lieu of their notes. So much integrity, and ſo powerful a reſource, was at that time the more admirable, as Charles II. of England, not ſatisfied with the money he had received from France, and wanting a farther ſupply to carry on his war againſt the Dutch, and anſwer the expence of his pleaſures, had lately turned bankrupt. If it was ſhameful in this monarch thus to violate public faith, it was no leſs glorious in the magiſtrates of Amſterdam to preſerve it, at a time when they might have had a plauſible excuſe for a failure.

To this republican virtue they added that courageous ſpirit, which has recourſe to the utmoſt extremities in irremediable evils. They ordered the dykes which keep out the ſea to be thrown down. The country-ſeats, which are in prodigious numbers about Amſterdam, the villages, and the neighbouring cities of Leyden and Delft, were in an inſtant laid under water.

The

The peaſant beheld his flocks drowned in the paſtures, without once murmuring. Amſterdam ſtood like a vaſt fortreſs in the midſt of the waves, encircled by ſhips of war, which had water enough to ride all round the city. The people ſuffered great want; they were in particular diſtreſſed for freſh water, which ſold for ſix ſous the pint; but theſe extremities ſeemed leſs grievous than ſlavery. It is a thing worthy of obſervation, that Holland, thus diſtreſſed by land, and no longer a ſtate, ſtill retained its power at ſea, which was this nation's true element.

While Lewis XIV. was croſſing the Rhine, and reducing theſe provinces, the Dutch admiral, de Ruyter, with an hundred ſail of men of war and fifty fire-ſhips, ſailed for the Engliſh coaſt in queſt of the combined fleets of the two ſovereigns, who, notwithſtanding they had united their forces by ſea, were not able to fit out a naval armament ſuperior to that of the Dutch. The Engliſh and Dutch fought like people accuſtomed to diſpute the empire of the ſea with each other. This battle, which was fought near Solebay, laſted a whole day. Ruyter, who made the ſignal for beginning the engagement, attacked the Engliſh admiral's ſhip, in which was the duke of York, the king's brother. De Ruyter gained all the glory of this ſingle combat*; the duke of York was obliged to go on board ano- June 7, 1672

* There could be no glory loſt on either ſide; for the duke did not quit his ſhip until ſhe was diſabled, and de Ruyter declared that this was the moſt obſtinate of two and thirty actions, in which he had been engaged.

ther ſhip, and never faced the Dutch admiral afterwards. The French ſquadron, conſiſting of thirty ſhips, had little ſhare in this action; and ſo deciſive was the fortune of this day, that it put the coaſt of Holland out of danger.

After this battle de Ruyter, notwithſtanding the fears and contradictions of his countrymen, conveyed the fleet from the Eaſt Indies ſafe into the Texel; thus defending and enriching his country on one ſide, while ſhe was falling, overwhelmed with ruin, on the other. The Dutch even kept up their trade, and no colours but theirs were to be ſeen in the Indian ſeas. One day the French conſul telling the king of Perſia, that his maſter, Lewis XIV. had conquered almoſt all Holland; "How can that be, (replied the monarch) when there is now in the port of Ormus twenty Dutch ſhips for one French?"

The prince of Orange, however, had the ambition of being a good citizen. He made an offer to the ſtate of the revenues of his poſts, and of all his private fortune, towards the ſupport of the common cauſe. He overflowed all the paſſes by which the French could penetrate into the reſt of the country. By his prompt and ſecret negociations he raiſed the emperor, the empire, the Spaniſh council, and the government of Flanders, from their lethargy: he even diſpoſed the Engliſh court to liſten to peace. In a word, Lewis had entered Holland only in May, and by the month of July all Europe was in confederacy againſt him.

Monterey, governor of Flanders, ſent a few regiments privately to the aſſiſtance of the United Provinces. The emperor Leopold's council likewiſe

likewiſe diſpatched Montecuculi, at the head of twenty thouſand men; and the elector of Brandenbourg took the field with twenty-five thouſand troops, whom he kept in his own pay.

The king now quitted his army, as there were no more conqueſts to be made in a country that was overflowed. July, 1672 It was even become difficult to keep the provinces which had been conquered. Lewis, deſirous to ſecure the glory he had acquired, contented himſelf with having taken ſuch a number of towns in the ſpace of two months; and leaving Turenne and Luxembourg to finiſh the war, he returned to St. Germains about the middle of the ſummer, to enjoy his triumphs. But while his ſubjects were every where erecting monuments of his conqueſts, the powers of Europe were at work to ſnatch them out of his hands.

CHAP. CLXXV.

HOLLAND evacuated. The FRANCHE COMTE conquered a ſecond Time.

WE think it neceſſary to advertiſe thoſe who may read this work, that they are to remember it is not a bare relation of campaigns, but rather an hiſtory of the manners of mankind. There are already a ſufficient number of books filled with the minute particulars of military actions, and details of human rage and miſery. The deſign of this eſſay is to deſcribe

ſcribe the principal characters of theſe revolutions, and to remove the multitude of trifling facts, in order to ſet to view thoſe only which are conſiderable, and (if it is poſſible) the ſpirit by which they were actuated.

France was at that time in the zenith of her glory. The names of her generals impreſſed veneration. Her miniſters were regarded as geniuſes ſuperior to the counſellors of other princes; and Lewis XIV. ſeemed almoſt the only king in Europe. As to the emperor Leopold, he never appeared with his armies. Charles II. king of Spain, ſon to Philip IV. was as yet a child; and the king of England ſhewed no activity but in the purſuit of his pleaſures.

The princes of Europe and their miniſters were all guilty of great blunders. England acted againſt the common principles of reaſon in joining with France to aggrandize a power which it was her intereſt to weaken.

The emperor, the empire, and the king of Spain's council, committed ſtill a greater error in not oppoſing this torrent in the beginning; and even Lewis himſelf was as blameable as any of them, for not rapidly purſuing conqueſts which were ſo eaſily made. Condé and Turenne were for demoliſhing the greateſt part of the fortified places taken from the Dutch, alledging, that ſtates were not to be taken by garriſons but by armies; and that, keeping one or two ſtrong holds only for a retreat, they ought to proceed immediately to complete the conqueſt of the whole country. Louvois, on the contrary, was for making every place a garriſon or fortreſs. This was his peculiar genius,

and

and it was likewiſe the king's own taſte. Louvois had by this means more employments in his diſpoſal, and encreaſed his miniſterial influence; beſides, he took a pride in thwarting the two greateſt captains of the age. Lewis implicitly believed what he ſaid, by which he was deceived, as he afterwards acknowledged. He let ſlip the opportunity of entering the capital of Holland; he weakened his army by dividing it into too many places, and gave the enemy breathing time. The hiſtory of the greateſt princes is frequently a narrative of human errors.

After the king had quitted the army, affairs took a different turn. Turenne was obliged to march into Weſtphalia, to oppoſe the Imperialiſts. Monterey, the governor of Flanders, whom the Spaniſh council were afraid of countenancing openly, reinforced the prince of Orange's ſmall army with about ten thouſand men, by which the prince found himſelf ſtrong enough to make head againſt the French till the winter. It was doing a great deal to be able to hold fortune in ſuſpence. At length winter came on, and covered the overflowed country of Holland with ice. Luxembourg, who commanded in Utrecht, carried on a new kind of war, to which the French themſelves were ſtrangers, and threw the Dutch into a freſh dilemma, as terrible as any thing they had yet experienced.

One night he gets together near twelve thouſand foot ſoldiers, drawn from the neighbouring garriſons; and having ordered every man to be furniſhed with a pair of ſkates, he puts himſelf at their head, and begins his march over the ice

ſice towards Leyden and the Hague: a thaw comes on, which ſaves the Hague; and his little army, ſurrounded by the waters, knowing no longer which way to go, and being deſtitute of proviſions, was on the point of periſhing. There was a narrow and muddy dyke, where hardly four men could walk a-breaſt, which he was obliged to march over before he could get back to Utrecht; and there was no way to get at this dyke, but by attacking a fort which ſeemed impregnable without artillery; and had thoſe who were in it defended it but for a ſingle day, the French army muſt inevitably have periſhed with hunger and fatigue. Luxembourg now looked upon himſelf as loſt; but the ſame good fortune which had preſerved the Hague, ſaved his army, through the cowardice of the commandant of the fort, who abandoned his poſt without the leaſt reaſon. There are a thouſand events in war, as in civil life, which are altogether incomprehenſible, and this was of the number. This expedition was productive of nothing but a piece of cruelty, which rendered the French name completely odious in this country. Bodegrave and Suvamerdam, two conſiderable villages, each well peopled, and as large as ſome of our middling towns, were given up to the ſoldiery for plunder, as a reward for the fatigues they had undergone. They immediately ſet fire to both towns, and indulged themſelves by the light of the flames in all exceſſes of debauchery and cruelty. It is ſurpriſing that the common ſoldiers among the French can be ſo barbarous, ſeeing they are commanded by ſuch a prodigious number of officers, who have with juſtice the reputation of being as humane

mane as they are brave. The ſacking of theſe two places was ſo exaggerated, that I myſelf, above forty years afterwards, ſaw ſome Dutch books, in which children were taught to read, where this affair was recapitulated, in order to inſpire the riſing generations with an hatred to the French.

In the mean time the king cut out work for the cabinets of all Europe, by his negociations. He gained over the duke of Hanover. The elector of Brandenbourg, in entering into the war, had made a treaty which he ſoon broke. There was not a court in Germany where Lewis had not ſome penſioners. By his emiſſaries in Hungary he fomented the troubles of that province, which had been ſeverely treated by the emperor's council. He laviſhed great ſums on Charles II. of England, to engage him to declare war once more againſt the Dutch, notwithſtanding the outcries and murmurs of all his ſubjects, who were filled with indignation at being made tools to raiſe the French king's greatneſs, which it was their intereſt and deſire to humble. In a word, Lewis diſturbed all Europe by his arms and negociations; but after all, he could not prevent the emperor, the empire, and Spain, from joining the Dutch, and publicly declaring war againſt him. He had ſo far changed the courſe of things, that the Dutch, who were his natural allies, were become friends to Spain. The emperor Leopold ſent his ſuccours ſlowly; but he ſhewed great animoſity againſt the French. It is reported, that as he was going to Egra to ſee the troops, which were there aſſembled, he took the ſacrament upon the road, and that af- 1673

ter

ter having communicated, he took a crucifix in his hand, and called God to witneſs to the juſtice of his cauſe. This action would have done very well in the time of the cruſades; however, the emperor's invocation did not in the leaſt ſtop the progreſs of the French king's arms.

It ſoon appeared how greatly his marine was improved. Inſtead of thirty ſhips, which had been ſent the year before to join the Engliſh fleet, he now ſent forty, without reckoning fire-ſhips. The ſea-officers had learnt from the Engliſh the judicious manner of working their ſhips in their engagements with the Dutch. The duke of York, afterwards king James II. was the perſon who firſt invented the method of giving orders in a naval fight, by the different diſpoſitions and motions of flags. Till that time the French did not know how to draw up a fleet in line of battle. All their experience conſiſted in fighting ſhip to ſhip, without knowing how to make a number move in concert, or to imitate at ſea the evolutions of armies on ſhore, whoſe ſeveral different corps mutually ſuſtain and aſſiſt each other. In this they reſembled the Romans, who in one year's time learnt the art of fighting at ſea from the Carthaginians, and ſoon became equal with their maſters.

The vice-admiral D'Etrée, and his ſecond in command, Martel, did honour to the induſtry of the French nation, in three ſucceſſive ſea-engagements, which were fought in the month of June, between the Dutch fleet and the combined ſquadrons of France and
1673 England. Admiral de Ruyter was more ad-

admired than ever in theſe three engagements. D'Etrée, in a letter to Colbert, expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms; "I would willingly have died to purchaſe the glory which de Ruyter has acquired." D'Etrée deſerved that Ruyter ſhould have ſaid the ſame by him. In ſhort, the valour and conduct were ſo equal on both ſides, that it remained doubtful which had the victory.

Lewis having thus made ſeamen of his French ſubjects, through the diligence of Colbert, improved the art of war at land by the induſtry of Vauban. He went in perſon to lay ſiege to Maeſtricht, at the time that theſe three naval battles were fought. Maeſtricht was the key of the Low Countries and the United Provinces. The place was prodigiouſly ſtrong, and defended by an intrepid governor, named Farjaux, a Frenchman by birth, who had gone into the Spaniſh ſervice, and afterwards into the Dutch. The garriſon conſiſted of five hundred men. Vauban, who had the direction of the ſiege, made uſe for the firſt time of the parallel lines, which were invented by the Italian engineers in the ſervice of the Turks at the ſiege of Candia. To theſe he added the *places d'armes*, or parade of arms, which is made in the trenches, for ranging the troops in order of battle, and better rallying them in caſe of ſallies from the beſieged. Lewis, in this ſiege, ſhewed himſelf more ſtrict and aſſiduous than he had ever yet done. By his example he accuſtomed his ſubjects to endure labour patiently, who had hitherto been accuſed as a nation which had only an impetuous courage, that is ſoon exhauſted by fatigues. Maeſtricht ſurrendered after a week's ſiege. June 29 1673.

The

The deſire of eſtabliſhing ſtrict military diſcipline among his troops, carried him rather to an exceſs of ſeverity. The prince of Orange at firſt had only a few officers without emulation, and ſoldiers without courage, to oppoſe the rapid conqueſts of the French arms, and therefore was obliged to employ the utmoſt rigour in training them, and to hang every one who quitted his poſt. The king likewiſe made uſe of puniſhments. The firſt place he loſt, a very brave officer named Du Pas, gave up Naerden to the prince of Orange. It is true, he held out the place only four days; but he did not give it up till after an obſtinate engagement of five hours upon bad works, and to prevent a general aſſault, which it would have been impoſſible for him to have ſuſtained with a weak and diſpirited garriſon. The king, incenſed at this firſt affront which his arms had received, ordered Du Pas to be led through Utrecht by the common hangman, with a ſhovel in his hand, and to have his ſword broke before his face. This ignominious treatment was perhaps not altogether neceſſary, as the French officers have too nice a ſenſe of honour to need being governed by the fear of diſgrace. It is to be obſerved, that according to the tenor of his commiſſion, the governor of a fortreſs is obliged to ſtand three aſſaults; but this is one of thoſe laws which are hardly ever put in force.

But not all the king's diligence, Vauban's genius, Louvois's ſtrict vigilance, the knowledge and great military experience of Turenne, nor the active intrepidity of the prince of Condé, were ſufficient to repair the fault which had been committed in keeping ſuch a number of places,

places, weakening the army, and miſſing the opportunity of taking Amſterdam.

The prince of Condé in vain attempted to penetrate into the heart of Holland, which was all under water. Turenne could neither prevent the junction of Montecuculi with the prince of Orange, nor hinder the latter from making himſelf maſter of the town of Bonn. The biſhop of Munſter, who had ſworn the deſtruction of the ſtates-general, was himſelf attacked by them. Nov. 1673

The Engliſh parliament obliged its king to enter ſeriouſly into a treaty of peace, and to ceaſe being the mercenary inſtrument of aggrandizing France. And now the French were obliged to evacuate the three Dutch provinces with as much precipitation as they had conquered them; but not till they had made them pay dearly for their deliverance. The intendant Robert had raiſed in the ſingle province of Utrecht in one year, no leſs than ſixteen hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand florins. So great was their hurry to evacuate the country which they had over-run with ſuch rapidity, that twenty-eight thouſand Dutch priſoners were reſtored at a crown per man. The triumphal arch of St. Denis's gate, and the other monuments of Lewis's conqueſts, were hardly finiſhed, when thoſe conqueſts were already abandoned. During the courſe of this invaſion, the Dutch had the honour of diſputing the empire of the ſea, and the dexterity to remove the theatre of the war out of their own country. Lewis XIV. was conſidered throughout Europe as one who had enjoyed the glory of a tranſient triumph with too much precipitation and pride.

pride. The fruits of this expedition were, that he had a bloody war to ſupport againſt the united forces of the Empire, Spain, and Holland; ſaw himſelf abandoned by England, and at length by the biſhop of Munſter, and even the elector of Cologne; and left the countries he had invaded, and was compelled to quit, more hated than admired.

The king maintained his ground alone againſt all the enemies he had drawn upon him. The foreſight of his adminiſtration, and the ſtrength of his kingdom, appeared to a much greater advantage, when he had ſo many combined powers and great generals to defend himſelf againſt, than even when he took French Flanders in a party of pleaſure, and Franche Comté, and one half of Holland, from a defenceleſs enemy.

It now appeared how great an advantage an abſolute ſovereign, whoſe finances are well managed, has over all other kings. He at one and the ſame time furniſhed Turenne with an army of twenty-three thouſand men, againſt the Imperialiſts; Condé, with one of forty thouſand, againſt the prince of Orange; and a body of troops were ſtationed on the borders of Rouſſillon. A fleet of tranſports, full of ſoldiers, was ſent to carry the war among the Spaniards, even to the gates of Meſſina; while he himſelf marched in perſon to ſubdue the Franche Comté a ſecond time. In a word, he at once defended himſelf, and attacked his enemies on every ſide.

As ſoon as he began his expedition againſt the Franche Comté, the ſuperiority of his adminiſtration ſhewed itſelf in the fulleſt manner.

It

It was neceſſary to bring over, or at leaſt to amuſe, the Swiſs nation, who are as formidable as poor, are always in arms, jealous to an exceſs of their liberty, invincible on their own frontiers, and who already began to murmur and take umbrage at ſeeing Lewis a ſecond time in their neighbourhood. The emperor and the court of Spain warmly ſollicited the thirteen cantons to grant a free paſſage to their troops, who were going to the aſſiſtance of the Franche Comté, which had been left defenceleſs by the negligence of the Spaniſh miniſtry; but the emperor and the Spaniard were only laviſh in arguments and entreaties. The French king, on the contrary, by a million of livres in ready money, and the aſſurance of ſix hundred thouſand more, prevailed on thoſe people to do as he pleaſed. They refuſed to grant a paſſage to the Spaniſh troops. Lewis, accompanied by his brother and the great Condé's ſon, laid ſiege to Beſançon. He was fond of this part of war, which he underſtood perfectly well, and left the care of the campaign to Condé and Turenne. Beſides, he never laid ſiege to a town without being morally ſure of taking it. Louvois made ſuch excellent preparations, the troops were ſo well found in every thing; Vauban, who had almoſt always the direction of the ſieges, was ſo great a maſter in the art of reducing places, that the king was ſecure of his reputation. Vauban directed the attacks againſt Beſançon, which was taken in nine days; and, at the end of ſix weeks, all Franche Comté ſubmitted to the king. It has ever ſince remained in the hands of France, and

and ſeems to be for ever annexed to it, a monument of the weakneſs of the Auſtro-Spaniſh miniſtry, and of the vigour of that of Lewis XIV.

CHAP. CLXXVI.

The glorious Campaign and Death of MARSHAL TURENNE.

WHILE the king was proceeding in the conqueſt of the Franche Comté, with that rapidity, eaſe, and glory, which ſeemed inſeparably annexed to his arms, Turenne, who was only defending the frontiers towards the Rhine, diſplayed all that was great and conſummate in the art of war. Our eſteem for men is generally meaſured by the difficulties they ſurmount; and this it was that gained Turenne ſuch great reputation in this campaign.

In the firſt place, he made a long and haſty march, paſſed the Rhine at Philipſbourg, marched all night to Sintzheim, which he took by ſtorm, and at the ſame time attacked and routed the emperor's general, Caprara, and the old duke of Lorrain, Charles IV. a prince who had ſpent his life in loſing his dominions and raiſing troops; and who had lately joined his little army to a part of the emperor's. Turenne, after having defeated him, purſued him, and routed his cavalry at Ladimbourg; from thence he, by haſty marches,

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marches came up with the prince of Bournonville, another of the imperial generals, who was only waiting for freſh troops, to open himſelf a way into Alſace. Turenne prevented him from being joined by theſe troops, attacked him, and obliged him to quit the field of battle.

The empire now aſſembled all its forces againſt him: ſeventy thouſand Germans occupied Alſace, and blocked up the towns of Briſſac and Philipſburg. Turenne's army did not conſiſt at moſt of above twenty thouſand effective men; but having received a ſmall reinforcement of cavalry from the prince of Condé, who was then in Flanders, he croſſes the mountains covered with ſnow, marches through Tarenne, and Bedfort, enters Upper Alſace, and appears in the midſt of the enemy's quarters, who thought him lying inactive in Lorraine, and looked upon the campaign as already finiſhed. He beat up the quarters at Mulhauſen that reſiſted, and made two thouſand of them priſoners. He then marched to Colmar, where the elector of Brandenburg, who was called the great elector, and was at that time general of the armies of the empire, had his head quarters, and came upon him juſt as he and the reſt of the princes and general officers were going to ſit down to dinner. They had hardly time to eſcape, and in one inſtant the country was covered with the flying. Dec. 1674

Turenne, who thought he had done nothing, while there was any thing left to be done, lay in wait near Turkheim, for a party of the enemy's foot, who were to march that way. He had choſen ſo advantageous a paſs, that he was

Jan. 5 1675 certain of ſucceſs: accordingly he entirely defeated this body. In ſhort, this army of ſeventy thouſand men was beaten and diſperſed almoſt without any great battle. Alſace fell into the king's hand, and the generals of the empire were obliged to repaſs the Rhine.

All theſe actions, following ſo faſt upon one another, conducted with ſo much art, managed with ſuch patience, and executed with as much promptitude, were equally admired by France and her enemies. But Turenne's reputation received a conſiderable addition, when it was known that all he had done in this campaign had been done without the conſent of the court, and even againſt the repeated orders ſent to him by Louvois, in the king's name. It was not the leaſt inſtance of Turenne's courage, nor the leaſt memorable exploit of this campaign, thus to oppoſe the powerful Louvois, and take upon himſelf the conſequences, in defiance of the outcries of the court, his maſter's orders, and the hatred of the miniſtry.

It is certain, that thoſe who had more humanity than eſteem for military exploits, were greatly diſpleaſed at this glorious campaign; which was as much diſtinguiſhed by the miſeries of the private people, as by the great deeds of Turenne. After the battle of Sintzheim he laid waſte with fire and ſword the Palatinate, a level and fertile country, full of rich cities and villages: and the elector-palatine, from his caſtle of Manheim, beheld two cities and twenty-five villages burnt before his eyes. This unhappy prince, in the firſt emotions of his rage, wrote a letter to Turenne, filled with the bittereſt reproaches, and defying him to

ſingle combat. Turenne having ſent this letter to the king, who forbade him to accept the challenge, he made no other return to the elector's reproaches and defiance than an empty compliment, which ſignified nothing. This was agreeable to the general behaviour and ſtile of Turenne, who always expreſſed himſelf in a cool and ambiguous manner.

He, in the ſame cold blood, deſtroyed the ovens, and burnt all the corn fields in Alſace, to prevent the enemy from finding ſubſiſtence. He afterwards permitted his cavalry to ravage Lorraine, where they committed ſuch diſorders, that the intendant, who, on his ſide, laid waſte that province with his pen, wrote to deſire the marſhal to put a ſtop to the exceſſes of the ſoldiery; who always replied coolly, "I ſhall take notice of it in the orders." Turenne was better pleaſed to be eſteemed the father of the men who were entruſted to his care, than of the people who, according to the rules of war, are always the victims. All the evil he did ſeemed neceſſary: his reputation covered every thing; and, beſides, the ſeventy thouſand Germans, whom he prevented from entering France, would have done more miſchief there than he did in Alſace, Lorrain, and the Palatinate.

The prince of Condé, on his ſide, fought a battle in Flanders, which was much more bloody than all the victories of the viſcount Turenne, though it proved neither ſo fortunate nor deciſive; or rather becauſe he had abler generals and better troops to encounter. This was the battle of Senef. The marquis of Feuquieres inſiſts that it ſhould be called only a fight; becauſe it was not an action between two armies

drawn up in battle-array, and that the corps were not all engaged; but it ſeems generally agreed to give the title of battle to this hot and bloody day. It is always the importance of an affair which determines its appellation. Had three thouſand men, ranged in battle-array, been engaged with each other, and even all their different corps been in action, it would have been only called a fight.

The prince of Condé, who was to keep the field with only forty-five thouſand men, againſt the prince of Orange with upwards of ſixty thouſand, waited for the enemy's army to paſs a defile at Senef, near Mons, and fell upon a part of the rear guard, compoſed of Spaniards, over whom he gained a conſiderable advantage. The prince of Orange was blamed for not having taken ſufficient precaution in paſſing through this defile; but every one admired the dexterous manner in which he repaired this accident; and Condé himſelf was cenſured for attempting to renew the fight againſt an enemy ſo ſtrongly entrenched. The combat was renewed three different times. The two generals, in this medley of errors and great deeds, equally diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their preſence of mind and courage. Of all the battles in which the great Condé had been engaged, there was no one in which he hazarded his own life and that of his ſoldiers ſo much as in this. After having ſuſtained three bloody attacks, he was for attempting the fourth. "The prince of Condé, ſaid one of the officers who was there preſent, ſeemed to be the only perſon who had an inclination for fighting". What was moſt remarkable in this action was, that both armies, after

after having ſtood the moſt obſtinate and bloody engagement, were ſeized with a ſudden panic in the night time, and took to flight. The next day they retreated, without either ſide having kept the field of battle, or claimed the victory; both being equally weakened and defeated. There were about ſeven thouſand killed, and five thouſand made priſoners, on the ſide of the French; and the enemy's loſs was nearly equal. This uſeleſs carnage prevented either army from undertaking any thing of moment againſt the other: but the appearance of advantage was at that time ſo neceſſary, that the prince of Orange, in order to make the world believe that he had gained the victory, laid ſiege to Oudenarde; however, the prince of Condé ſoon ſhewed that he had not loſt the battle, by obliging him to raiſe the ſiege, and purſuing him in his retreat.

It was equally the practice with the French and the allies, to obſerve the idle ceremony of giving public thanks for a victory they had not gained: a cuſtom eſtabliſhed to keep up the ſpirit of the populace, who muſt always be deceived.

Turenne, with his little army, continued to make ſome progreſs in Germany, by the mere efforts of his military genius. The council of Vienna not daring to truſt any longer the fate of the empire to princes who had made ſo bad a defence, once more delivered the command of its armies to general Montecuculi, the ſame who had defeated the Turks in the battle of St. Gothard, and who, in ſpite of the endeavours of Turenne and Condé, had effected a junction with the prince of Orange, and checked the

career of Lewis's conqueſts, after he had reduced three of the ſeven United Provinces.

It has been elſewhere remarked, that the empire has been frequently indebted to Italy for its greateſt generals. This country, though in a ſtate of declenſion and ſlavery, ſtill produces men who put us in mind of what it has once been. Montecuculi was the only perſon fit to be oppoſed to Turenne. They had both brought war to an art. They ſpent four months in following and obſerving each other in their marches and encampments, which were held in greater eſteem by the French and German officers, than even victories. Each of them judged what his adverſary had in view, by the very ſteps which he himſelf would have taken on the ſame occaſion, and they were ſeldom deceived. They oppoſed each other with perſeverance, cunning, and activity. At laſt they were on the point of coming to an engagement, and ſtaking their reputations on the fate of a battle near the village of Saltzbach, when Turenne was killed by a cannon ball, as he was going to fix upon a place for erecting a battery. Every one is acquainted with the particulars of this great man's death; but we cannot refrain from repeating ſome of the principal circumſtances of an event which continues to be ſpoken of to this day. There is one indeed which it is hardly poſſible to repeat too often. The ſame ball which deprived Turenne of his life carried off the arm of St. Hilaire, lieutenant general of the artillery, whoſe ſon throwing himſelf down by his ſide in a flood of tears, "Weep not for me, ſaid that brave officer, but for that great

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great man," pointing to Turenne. Theſe words are equal to any thing that hiſtory has conſecrated as moſt heroic, and form the worthieſt elogium of the great Turenne. It is very ſeldom that in a deſpotic government, where every one is wholly taken up with his own private concerns, thoſe who have ſerved their country die regretted: nevertheleſs, Turenne was lamented both by his own ſoldiers and the people. Louvois was the only one who rejoiced at his death. Every one knows that the king cauſed the greateſt honours to be payed to his memory; and that he was interred at St. Denis, as the conſtable du Gueſclin had been, to whom the public voice declares him as much ſuperior, as the age he lived in was ſuperior to that of the conſtable's.

Turenne had not always been ſucceſsful in the field. He had been beaten at Mariendal, Retel, and Cambrai; he had likewiſe been guilty of ſome faults, and was ſo much the great man as to own them. He had never gained very ſtriking victories, nor fought any of thoſe pitched battles which decide the fate of one or the other nation; but by always repairing his defeats, and doing a great deal with a little, he paſſed for the ableſt general in Europe, in an age when the art of war was better underſtood than ever it had been. In like manner, though he had been accuſed of having deſerted his party in the civil wars, and that, when almoſt ſixty years of age, he had ſuffered love to make him reveal a ſecret of ſtate, and that he exerciſed ſome unneceſſary barbarities in the Palatinate, yet he ſtill preſerved the character of an upright, prudent, and honeſt man; becauſe his virtues

and great talents, which were peculiar to himſelf, made the world forget thoſe weakneſſes and failings which were common to him with the reſt of mankind. If we were to compare him to any one, we might venture to ſay, that of all the generals of paſt ages, Gonſalvo de Cordova, ſurnamed the Great Captain, was the perſon whom he came the neareſt in reſemblance to.

He was born a proteſtant; but in 1688 he embraced the Roman-catholic religion. It was not ſuppoſed by either proteſtant or philoſopher, that this change was the effect of mere perſuaſion only, in a warrior and a ſtateſman, of fifty years old, who ſtill kept miſtreſſes. It was well known that Lewis XIV. when he created him marſhal-general of his armies, ſpoke to him in theſe very words, which we find related by Peliſſon in his letters, and others: "I wiſh you would lay me under an obligation of doing more for you." Theſe words (according to theſe writers) might, together with time, have been the means of bringing about this converſion. The place of conſtable might perhaps have entered into an ambitious mind; it is alſo poſſible that this converſion might be ſincere. The human heart frequently unites politics, ambition, religious ſentiments, and amorous weakneſſes; but the catholics, who triumphed in this change, would never be perſuaded that the great ſoul of Turenne was capable of double dealing.

The turn which affairs took in Alſace immediately after the death of Turenne, made his loſs more ſenſibly felt. Montecuculi, who had for three months been kept on the other

ſide

ſide of the Rhine by the abilities of the French general, paſſed that river the inſtant he knew he had no longer Turenne to fear; he then fell upon a part of the army, which remained thunderſtruck with its loſs, under the command of the two lieutenant-generals, de Lorges and Vauban. Though the French defended themſelves with great valour, they could not hinder the Imperialiſts from penetrating into Alſace, from whence Turenne had always kept them at a diſtance.

The army not only ſtood in need of a leader to conduct it, but alſo to retrieve the late defeat which had happened to marſhal de Crequi, a man of an enterpriſing genius, capable at once of the nobleſt and raſheſt actions, and equally dangerous to his country and its enemies. He had lately, through his own fault, been beaten at Conſarbruck, and his little army routed and cut to pieces by a body of twenty thouſand Germans, who were laying ſiege to Triers. Hardly a fourth part of his troops eſcaped. After this accident, he marched with the utmoſt precipitation thro' a thouſand dangers, and threw himſelf into Triers, which he defended with the greateſt valour; whereas he ſhould have ſuccoured it by a prudent management. He reſolved to bury himſelf in the ruins of the place, before he would give it up; and even when a breach was made practicable, he ſtill continued to hold out. The garriſon began to murmur at this obſtinacy; and one captain Bois-Jourdan, who was at the head of the mutineers, repaired to the breach, and propoſed a capitulation. Never was cowardice carried on with ſo much bold-

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neſs; he threatened to kill the marſhal, unleſs he would ſign the capitulation; Crequi upon this retires, with ſome officers who remained faithful to him, to a neighbouring church, and choſe rather to be a priſoner at diſcretion than to capitulate.

To recruit the great loſs of men which the kingdom had ſuſtained by ſo many ſieges and battles, Lewis XIV. was adviſed not to confine himſelf to the uſual levies from among the militia, but to iſſue his orders for aſſembling the ban and arriere-ban. By an ancient cuſtom, which is now laid aſide, all thoſe that held lands in fee, were obliged to ſerve their lords paramount in the wars, at their own expence, and to continue in arms for a certain number of days. This ſervice was one of the principal laws of our barbarous nations. Things are at preſent on a very different footing in Europe; every kingdom now raiſes ſoldiers, who are kept in conſtant pay, and form a regular and diſciplined body.

Lewis XIII. had once, during his reign, aſſembled the nobility of his kingdom; Lewis XIV. now followed his example. The body of nobility took the field under the command of the marquis, afterwards marſhal of Rochefort, and marched to the frontiers of Flanders, and from thence to the borders of Germany; but this body was neither conſiderable in its numbers, nor uſeful in its operations, nor indeed could be rendered ſo. The gentlemen who had a military turn, and were fit for ſervice, had all commiſſions in the army; thoſe whom age or diſcontent had kept at home, remained there; and the reſt, who were employed in improving their eſtates,

eſtates, came with repugnance, to the number of about four thouſand. In ſhort, they were far from having the appearance of military troops. They were all differently mounted and accoutred, void of experience, ignorant of diſcipline, and either incapable or averſe to regular ſervice; ſo that they cauſed only confuſion, and were for ever laid aſide. This was the laſt trace of ancient chivalry which appeared in our regular armies, of which thoſe armies were formerly compoſed, and which, though poſſeſſed of all the courage natural to their nation, never fought well.

Turenne dead, Crequi beaten and a priſoner, Triers taken, and Montecuculi laying all Alſace under contributions, the king thought that the prince of Condé alone was able to revive the drooping ſpirits of the army, diſcouraged by the death of Turenne. Condé left marſhal Luxembourg to ſupport the French arms in Flanders, and haſtened to check the progreſs of Montecuculi. On this occaſion, he ſhewed as much coldneſs as he had done impetuoſity at Senef; and, with a genius which conformed itſelf to every thing, he diſplayed the ſame art as Turenne had done. By two encampments only, he ſtopt the progreſs of the German army, and obliged Montecuculi to raiſe the ſieges of Haguenau and Saverne. After this campaign, which was indeed leſs brilliant, but more eſteemed, than that of Senef, this prince no longer appeared in the character of a warrior. He was deſirous of having his ſon appointed to the command in his ſtead, and offered to aſſiſt him with his advice: but the king

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did not chuſe to have either young men or princes for generals; it was even not without reluctance that he had employed the prince of Condé, who owed his being at the head of the army to Louvois's jealouſy of Turenne, as much as to his own great reputation.

The prince retired to Chantilly, and rarely came to Verſailles, to ſee his glory eclipſed in a place where the courtier regards only favour. During the remainder of his life he was greatly tormented with the gout; but he conſoled himſelf in the midſt of his anguiſh and diſgrace, by the converſation of men of genius of all kinds, with which France then abounded. He was truly worthy of their acquaintance, being himſelf acquainted with moſt of the arts and ſciences in which they excelled. He ſtill continued the object of admiration, even in his retirement; till at length that devouring fire, which had in his youth made him the impetuous hero, and ſubject to a number of paſſions, having by degrees conſumed the vigour of a body, which was by nature formed rather active than robuſt, he experienced a total decay before his time; and his mind growing as weak as his body, nothing of the great Condé remained during the two laſt years of his life. He died in the year 1680. Montecuculi retired from the emperor's ſervice much about the time that the great Condé reſigned the command of the armies of France.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXXVI.

From the Death of TURENNE to the Peace of NIMEGUEN, in 1678.

NOtwithſtanding Turenne was dead, and the prince of Condé withdrawn from the army, the king ſtill continued the war againſt the emperor, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, with as much ſucceſs as before. He had a number of officers who had been trained up under theſe great men; he had Louvois, who was as good as a general to him, becauſe, by his ready foreſight, he furniſhed the generals with means of undertaking every thing they deſired; and the troops, by a long ſeries of victories, retained that ardour, which the preſence of a monarch, ever fortunate in his undertakings, had inſpired them with.

During the courſe of this war, he in perſon took Condé *, Bouchain †, Valenciennes ‡, and Cambray ‖. He was accuſed by ſome, of having been afraid to engage the prince of Orange, who, at the ſiege of Bouchain, preſented himſelf with an army of fifty thouſand men, in order to relieve the place. The prince of Orange was likewiſe reproached with not having given battle to Lewis, when he might have done it; for ſuch is the fate of kings and generals, that they are always blamed for what they do, and for what they do not do; but neither the king nor the prince of Orange were in

* April 26, 1676. † May 11, 1679. ‡ March 17, 1677. ‖ April 5, 1677.

the

the leaſt to blame: the former did not give battle, though he was deſirous of it, becauſe Monterey, who was governor of the Netherlands, and who was then in his army, did not chuſe to expoſe his province to the chance of a deciſive action; and the honour of the campaign was undoubtedly on the king's ſide, ſince he did what he pleaſed, and took a town in ſight of his enemy.

With regard to the town of Valenciennes, it was taken by aſſault, by one of thoſe ſingular events which characterize the impetuous courage of the French nation.

The king carried on this ſiege, aſſiſted by his brother and five marſhals of France, namely, d'Humieres, Schomberg, La Feuillade, Luxembourg, and de Lorges. The marſhals had each their day of command in turn, and Vauban had the direction of all the operations.

They had not yet made themſelves maſters of any of the outworks of the place. The firſt thing to be done was to attack two half-moons; behind which was a large crown-work, guarded with palliſades and fraiſes, and ſurrounded by a ditch, interſected with ſeveral traverſes. Within this crown-work was another work, ſurrounded by another ditch. When all theſe entrenchments were carried, there was ſtill a branch of the Scheld to be paſſed. Even after this, there remained another work, called paté; behind this paté ran the main ſtream of the Scheld, which was very deep and rapid, and which ſerves as a ditch to the town-wall, which was defended by ſtrong ramparts. All theſe works were covered with artillery,

artillery, and a garriſon of three thouſand men promiſed a long reſiſtance.

The king held a council of war about attacking the out-works. It had always been a cuſtom to make theſe attacks in the night-time, in order to ſteal upon the enemy unperceived, and ſave the lives of the men. Vauban propoſed to make the attack in the day-time. This propoſal was ſtrongly oppoſed by the marſhals, and Louvois joined in condemning it; Vauban however maintained his opinion, with the confidence of a man who is ſure of what he advances: "You are deſirous (ſaid he) of ſaving your men as much as poſſible; you will certainly do this much better by day-light, when they will be able to fight without confuſion and tumult, or being apprehenſive of one party firing upon another, as too often happens in attacks by night. We want to ſurpriſe the enemy, who are always upon their guard againſt an attack by night; we ſhall therefore effectually ſurpriſe them, if we oblige them to ſtand the attack of our freſh troops, after they have been wearied out by the fatigue of the over-night's watch. Add to this, that if there are any of our men who want courage, the night favours their backwardneſs; but that, in day-time, the eye of the maſter inſpires them with courage, and makes them ſurpaſs themſelves."

The king was convinced by Vauban's arguments, and agreed to his propoſal, notwithſtanding the objections of the five marſhals of France.

At

March 17, 1677 At nine o'clock in the morning, the two companies of muſketeers, an hundred grenadiers, a battalion of the guards, and another of the regiment of Picardy, mounted the great crown-work on all ſides. Their orders were only to make a lodgement there, and this was a great deal; but ſome of the black muſketeers having found entrance by a private paſſage into the inner entrenchments which were in this work, preſently made themſelves maſters of it; at the ſame time the grey muſketeers made way through another paſſage; theſe were followed by the battalion of guards, who fell upon the beſieged, killed ſome of them, and put the reſt to flight. By this time the muſketeers had let down the draw-bridge which joined this work to the reſt: they followed the enemy from one entrenchment to another, both on the greater and leſſer branch of the Scheld. The guards preſſed on in crouds, and the muſketeers were in poſſeſſion of the town before the king knew that the firſt work, which he had ordered to be attacked, was carried.

But this was the leaſt conſiderable part of the action. It is likely enough that a number of young muſketeers, inflamed with the ardour of ſucceſs, might fall upon the troops or burghers whom they met in the ſtreets, and loſe their lives, or elſe plunder the town; but what is moſt extraordinary in this affair is, that theſe young men, under the conduct of a cornet called Moiſſac, drew up in a rank behind ſome waggons, and while the reſt of the troops who came in were forming with deliberation, other muſketeers took poſſeſſion of the neighbouring

bouring houſes, and covered with their fire thoſe who were in the ſtreet. Hoſtages were now exchanged on each ſide; the town-council aſſembled and diſpatched a deputation to the king, and all this was tranſacted without pillage, confuſion, or the leaſt outrage of any kind. The king made the garriſon priſoners of war, and entered Valenciennes with aſtoniſhment. The ſingularity of this action engaged us to enter into this minue detail.

The king likewiſe gained ſome honour by the taking of Ghent in eight days time, and Ypres in ſeven. His generals met with ſtill greater ſucceſs. March 9, 1678 March 25, 1678

In Germany, indeed, the marſhal duke of Luxembourg, at the beginning of the war, ſuffered Philipſburg to be taken in his ſight, after a fruitleſs attempt to relieve it with an army of fifty thouſand men. The general who took Philipſburg was Charles V. the new duke of Lorrain, who ſucceeded his uncle Charles IV. and was, like him, ſtript of his dominions. He had all the good qualifications of his unhappy uncle, without any of his faults. He commanded the armies of the empire with great reputation; but, notwithſtanding he had reduced Philipſburg, and was at the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men, he could never get poſſeſſion of his dominions; and it was to no purpoſe that he carried theſe words in his colours: *Aut nunc aut nunquam*, Now or never. Marſhal Crequi, now ranſomed from his confinement, and become more prudent by his defeat at Conſarbruck, always kept the entrance into Lorrain ſhut September, 1676

Octob. 7, 1677 ſhut from him. He beat him in a ſmall ſkirmiſh at Kokerſberk, in Alſace, and continually harraſſed him in his marches. He took Friburg in his ſight, and beat a detachment of his army at Rheinfield. He paſſed the river Keres in his view, purſued him to Offenbourg, fell upon him in his retreat, and having immediately afterwards carried the fort of Retel ſword in hand, he proceeded to Sharbourg, where he burnt the bridge by which that city, which was ſtill free, had ſo many times afforded a paſſage for the imperial troops into Alſace. Thus did marſhal Crequi make amends for the imprudence of one day, by a ſeries of ſucceſſes which were wholly owing to his prudence; and, had he lived ſome time longer, it is probable he would have acquired an equal reputation with Turenne.

Nov. 14, 1677

July, 1678

The prince of Orange was not more ſucceſsful in Flanders than the duke of Lorrain had been in Germany; he was not only obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Maeſtricht and Charleroi, but, after having ſuffered Condé, Bouchain, and Valenciennes to fall into the hands of Lewis XIV. he loſt the battle of Montcaſſel, againſt Monſieur the king's brother, in attempting to relieve St. Omer. The marſhals Luxembourg and d'Humieres commanded this army under Monſieur. It is ſaid that the gaining of the battle was owing to an error committed by the prince of Orange, and a dextrous movement made by Luxembourg. Monſieur fought with a courage and preſence of mind that was never expected from ſo effeminate a prince. There could

could not be a ſtronger inſtance that valour is not incompatible with delicacy. This prince, who frequently uſed to go dreſt like a woman, and who had the ſame inclinations, behaved on this occaſion like a general and a ſoldier. It is ſaid that the king his brother was jealous of the reputation he acquired. He took very little notice to him of the victory he had gained, and did not ſo much as go to ſee the field of battle, tho' he was juſt by. Some of the duke of Orleans attendants, who were more diſcerning than the reſt, propheſied to him then that he would never again have the command of an army, and their predictions were verified. March 11, 1677

The taking of ſo many towns, and the gaining ſo many battles, were not the only ſucceſſes which attended the arms of Lewis XIV. during this war. The count of Schomberg and marſhal Navaille beat the Spaniards in the Lampourdan, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and attacked them even in Sicily.

This iſland, ſince the time of the tyrants of Syracuſe, under whom it was of ſome note in the world, has always fallen a prey to foreigners: it has been ſucceſſively enſlaved by the Romans, the Vandals, the Arabians, the Norman princes vaſſals to the popes, the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards; ſtill hating its maſters and rebelling againſt them, without making any noble efforts to gain their liberty, and continually engaged in freſh ſeditions only to change its chains.

The magiſtrates of Meſſina had lately ſtirred up a civil war againſt their governors, and called in the French to their aſſiſtance. Their harbour

harbour was blocked up by a Spaniſh fleet, and they were reduced to the laſt extremities of famine.

The chevalier de Valbille was immediately ſent with a few frigates to their aſſiſtance, who paſſed through the Spaniſh fleet, and threw a ſupply of proviſions, arms, and men, into the city. Soon after the duke of Vivonne arrived, with ſeven men of war of ſixty guns, two of eighty, and a number of fire-ſhips, engaged the enemy's fleet, which he defeated, and entered the harbour of Meſſina in triumph.

Feb. 9. 1675

The Spaniards were obliged to have recourſe to the Dutch, their ancient enemies, who were ſtill looked upon as maſters of the ſea, to help them to defend Sicily. De Ruyter ſails from the Zuyder Zee, paſſes the vere of Meſſina, and reinforces the Spaniſh fleet of twenty ſhips with three and twenty large men of war.

Jan. 8, 1676

And now the French, who, when joined with the Engliſh, had not been able to beat the Dutch fleets, gained a victory alone over the combined ſquadrons of Spain and Holland. The duke of Vivonne, who was obliged to remain in Meſſina to reſtrain the populace, who already began to be diſpleaſed with their defenders, left the care of this engagement to du Queſne, his lieutenant-general, who was a man as extraordinary in his way as de Ruyter; he had, like him, roſe to the command entirely by merit, but had never before had the management of a naval armament, having hitherto ſignalized himſelf rather in the character of a captain of a privateer, than the

the commander of a regular fleet. But whoſoever poſſeſſes a genius for his art, and for carrying command, paſſes with great eaſe and quickneſs from the little to the great. Du Queſne ſhewed himſelf a very able ſea-officer in this action againſt de Ruyter, was it only for having gained a ſmall advantage over this experienced Hollander. He gave battle a ſecond time to the enemy's fleets off Aoſta *. In this engagement de Ruyter received the wound which put an end to his glorious life. He was one of thoſe men whoſe memories are ſtill had in the greateſt veneration by the people of Holland. On his firſt entrance into a ſea-life he was only a cabbin-boy, or captain's ſervant, which makes him ſo much the more reſpectable. His name is equal with thoſe of the princes of Naſſau. The Spaniſh council gave him the title and patent of duke, an odd and ridiculous dignity to confer on a republican; the patent however did not arrive till after he was dead, when his children, proving themſelves worthy of ſuch a father, refuſed a title which is ſo earneſtly ſought after in our monarchies, but which is by no means to be preferred to the name of a good citizen. March 12, 1676

Lewis XIV. had too noble a ſoul not to be concerned at his death; and, when ſome of his courtiers repreſented to him that he was now rid of a troubleſome and dangerous enemy, "Nevertheleſs, replied he, I cannot help being afflicted with the loſs of a great man."

* Aoſta, Aguſt, or Avoſta, a dutchy in the principality of Piedmont, belonging to the king of Sardinia, and lying near the ſea-ſide.

Du

Du Queſne, the de Ruyter of the French, attacked the combined fleets a third time, immediately upon the death of the Dutch admiral, and ſunk, burnt, and took ſeveral of their largeſt ſhips. The marſhal duke of Vivonne commanded in chief in this action; but it was nevertheleſs du Queſne who gained the victory. Europe ſtood amazed to ſee France, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, become as formidable by ſea as at land. It is certain, that theſe armaments and victories only ſerved to ſpread the alarm thro' every ſtate. The king of England, having entered upon the war to ſupport the intereſt of France, was now deſirous of joining the prince of Orange, who had lately married his niece. Beſides, the great reputation gained in Sicily coſt too much money, and laſtly, the French evacuated Meſſina at the very time when they were thought on the point of making themſelves maſters of the iſland. Lewis XIV. was greatly blamed for having, during the courſe of this war, undertaken many things which he could not go thro' with, and for quitting Meſſina, as he had done Holland, after a fruitleſs conqueſt.

April 8, 1678

However, it muſt be allowed, that prince is very formidable who is no otherwiſe unſucceſsful than in not being able to keep all his conqueſts. He preſſed his enemies in every part of Europe. The war in Sicily had not coſt him near ſo much money as it did the Spaniard, who was diſtreſſed and beaten in every place. He likewiſe raiſed up new enemies againſt the houſe of Auſtria; he fomented the troubles in Hungary, and his ambaſſadors at the Ottoman porte preſſed the ſultan to carry the war into Germany, though

at the ſame time common decency would have obliged him to ſend ſuccours againſt thoſe very people whom his politics had called in: for, at that time, the Swedes, his old allies, were engaged in an unſucceſsful war, againſt the elector of Brandenburg. This elector, who was father to the firſt king of Pruſſia, had begun to exalt his country to that degree of reputation which has ſince received ſo conſiderable an addition. He had juſt then taken Pomerania from the Swedes.

It is remarkable, that during the courſe of this war, there were almoſt continual conferences held for peace; firſt at Cologne, upon the fruitleſs mediation of the Swedes, and afterwards at Nimeguen, by the equally uſeleſs interpoſition of the Engliſh, whoſe mediation was become almoſt as idle a piece of ceremony as the arbitration of the pope. At the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Lewis XIV. was actually the only real arbiter: he made propoſals for a peace, the ninth of April 1678, in the midſt of his victories, and gave the enemy to the tenth of May to accept of them. He afterwards allowed, the ſtates general ſix weeks longer, upon their aſking it in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner.

He now entirely laid aſide all ambitious views upon Holland: that republic had been ſo lucky, or ſkilful, to appear only as an auxiliary in a war which was begun for its deſtruction; while the empire and Spain, who were at firſt only auxiliaries, were at length become the principal parties.

The king greatly favoured the trade of the Dutch

Dutch by the conditions which he impoſed upon them; he reſtored to them the city of Maeſtricht, and gave the Spaniards ſome towns to ſerve as barriers to the United Provinces; as Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Ath, Ghent, and Limburg: but he reſerved Bouchain, Condé, Ypres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Maubeuge, Aire, Saint Omer, Caſſel, Charlemont, Popering, Bailleul, &c. which made a great part of Flanders. To theſe he added the Franche-Comté, which had been already twice conquered: and theſe two provinces were no deſpicable fruits of this war.

He demanded nothing more of the empire but Friburg or Philipſburg, which he left to the emperor's choice. He reinſtated the two brothers, Furſtemburg, in the biſhopric of Straſburg, and their family eſtate, of which they had been ſtript by the emperor, who ſtill detained one of them in priſon.

He protected with an high hand his allies the Swedes, unhappily joined with him againſt the king of Denmark and the elector of Brandenburg. He inſiſted that Denmark ſhould give up all it had taken from Sweden, lower the toll-duties in the Baltick Sea; that the duke of Holſtein ſhould be reſtored to his dominions; that the elector of Brandenburg ſhould give up Pomerania, which he had lately conquered; and that every article of the treaty of Weſtphalia ſhould be again renewed. His will was a law throughout Europe; the elector of Brandenburg in vain wrote a letter to him, in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, in which he ſtiles him, "His Lord and Maſter," humbly entreating he might

might be permitted to keep what he had conquered, with many aſſurances of his zeal and future ſervice; but his ſubmiſſions proved as inefficacious as his reſiſtance, and the conqueror of the Swedes was obliged to reſtore all he had taken from them.

And now the ambaſſador of France inſiſted upon taking the upper hand of the electors. Brandeburg propoſed every kind of modification, in order to ſettle a conference with the count, afterwards marſhal d'Eſtrades, who was ambaſſador to the ſtates-general; but the king would never ſuffer a perſon who repreſented him to yield to an elector, and the count d'Eſtrades could not treat.

Charles V. had put the grandees of Spain upon the ſame rank with the electors, conſequently the peers of France had pretenſions to the ſame equality. At preſent we ſee that things are changed in every point, ſince in the imperial diets the ambaſſadors of electors are now held in the ſame manner as thoſe of crowned heads. As to Lorrain, Lewis offered to reſtore the new duke, Charles V. but inſiſted upon remaining maſter of Nanci, and all the great roads.

Theſe conditions were impoſed with the haughtineſs of a conqueror; but yet they were not ſo unreaſonable as to drive his enemies to deſpair, or oblige them to join together againſt him, as the only thing left. He at once dictated to Europe as a maſter, and acted as a politician.

At the conferences at Nimeguen he found means to ſow jealouſy among his allies. The Dutch were in haſte to ſign, in deſpite of the

prince of Orange, who reſolved at all events to carry on war, alledging that the Spaniards were too weak to aſſiſt them, ſhould they refuſe to ſign.

The Spaniards, ſeeing that the Dutch had accepted of terms of peace, followed their example; alledging that the empire did not ſeem hearty in the common cauſe.

In the laſt place, the Germans, abandoned by Spain and Holland, ſigned after all the others, ceeding Friburg to the king, and confirming the treaties of Weſtphalia.

There was no alteration made in the conditions preſcribed by Lewis XIV. The enemy in vain affected to make ſome extravagant propoſals, in order to diſguiſe their own weakneſs. He gave laws and peace to all Europe. The duke of Lorrain was the only one who refuſed to accede to a treaty which appeared to him in ſo oppreſſive a light. He choſe rather to be a prince, and wander through the empire, than to be a ſovereign without power or honours in his own dominions; and waited in expectation, when time and his own courage ſhould bring about a favourable reverſe of fortune.

During the conferences at Nimeguen, and four days after that the plenipotentiaries of France and Holland had ſigned the treaty of peace, the prince of Orange ſhewed how dangerous an enemy Lewis XIV. had in him. Marſhal Luxembourg, who was then beſieging Mons, had lately received an account of the concluſion of the peace; upon which he lay lulled in full ſecurity in the village of St. Denis, and dined that day with the intendant of the army. The prince of Orange, with his whole army,

army, attacks the marſhal's quarters, and forces them: a long and bloody engagement enſues, from which the prince had the greateſt reaſon to expect the moſt ſignal victory; for he not only gave the attack, which is a great advantage, but he attacked an army which depended upon the faith of treaties, and grew remiſs in their military rigour. Marſhal Luxembourg could with great difficulty reſiſt the fury of this attack; and if the advantage lay on any ſide, it was with the prince of Orange, whoſe foot remained maſter of the field of battle where they had fought.

Did ambitious men pay any regard to the lives of their fellow creatures, the prince of Orange would not have fought this battle. He certainly knew that the peace was already ſigned, or on the point of being ſo: he knew that this peace would prove advantageous to his country, and yet he hazarded his own life, and that of thouſands of men beſides, as the firſt fruits of a general peace, which was then ſo far advanced, that had he even beat the French army, it would have made no alteration in the congreſs. This act, as inhuman as it was glorious, and which at that time was more eſteemed than blamed, did not produce one ſingle additional article in the treaty; and the lives of two thouland French, and as many of the enemy, were thrown away to no end. By this peace we may ſee how much projects are contradicted by events. Holland, againſt whom alone the war was undertaken, and whoſe deſtruction ſeemed inevitable, loſt nothing at all; on the contrary, ſhe gained a barrier, while every other crowned

head who had preſerved it from deſtruction, loſt by it.

The king was now at the height of his greatneſs. He had been victorious ever ſince he came to the crown; never had beſieged any place without taking it; was ſuperior in all things to thoſe in league againſt him; the terror of Europe for ſix years together; and at length its arbiter and peace-maker: he added to his eſtates the Franche-Comté, Dunkirk, and one half of Flanders; and, what he ſtill ought to look upon as one of the greateſt bleſſings, he was king over a happy kingdom, now become the model to all other nations.

Some time afterwards, (in 1680) the town-houſe of Paris ſolemnly beſtowed upon him the epithet of Great, and ordered this title alone to be placed upon all public monuments. Several medals had been ſtruck as early as the year 1673, with this ſurname on them; and Europe, though jealous of his glory, did not cry out againſt theſe honours. Nevertheleſs, the name of Lewis XIV. has prevailed among the public more than that of Great. Cuſtom governs all things. Henry, who had the ſurname of Great conferred on him after his death with ſo much juſtice, is commonly called Henry IV. and that name alone is ſufficiently expreſſive. The prince of Cóndé is always called the Great Condé, not only on account of his heroic deeds, but from a lucky facility of diſtinguiſhing him by that means from the other princes of Condé. Had he been called Condé the Great, that title would never have remained with him. We ſay the Great Corneille, to di-

diſtinguiſh him from his brother. We do not ſay the Great Virgil, the Great Horace, or the Great Taſſo. Alexander the Great in now only known by the ſimple name of Alexander. Charles V. whoſe ſucceſſes were more dazzling than thoſe of Lewis XIV. had never the ſurname of Great. It continues to be given to Charlemagne, only as a proper name *. Titles are of no uſe to poſterity; the name of a man who has done great things, impreſſes more reſpect than the moſt ſounding epithet.

CHAP.

* This is a ſtrange medley of compariſons, without any propriety of diſtinction; and one of the remarks is, we apprehend, not founded upon reality: that, for example, which relates to Alexander, who is univerſally known by the name of Alexander the Great: the ſame epithet is conſtantly beſtowed upon Pompey, the rival of Julius Cæſar. But whatever Mr. de Voltaire may think of the importance of his own nation in general, and of thoſe characters in particular, which his nation has honoured with the appellation of Great, the conſent of the French nation alone is not ſufficient to eſtabliſh this epithet. Alexander deſerved the name of Great, in the opinion of all the enlightened nations then in being. Pompey was ſirnamed Great, by the undoubted metropolis of the world. Both the one and the other had performed ſuch exploits as entitled them to that glorious addition. They had ſubdued the moſt formidable powers of Aſia, and filled all the world with aſtoniſhment at the brilliancy of their victories. Henry IV. of France had never extended his ſucceſs beyond his own dominions. His grand-ſon, Lewis XIV. had over-run Franche-Comté and Flanders, when they were both defenceleſs: but he was not able to complete the conqueſt of Holland, even though he was at the gates of Amſterdam, and the Dutch had not an army to oppoſe his career. In the ſequel, though his generals obtained ſome victories over the prince of Orange, they never ſtruck ſuch a deciſive ſtroke, but that he was always able to keep them at bay, and to

CHAP. CLXXVII.

The taking of STRASBURG; the bombarding of ALGIERS; the ſubmiſſion of the GENOESE; the embaſſy from the emperor of SIAM; the pope braved in ROME; and the ſucceſſion to the Electorate of COLOGNE diſputed.

THE general peace proved no reſtraint upon Lewis's ambition. The empire, Spain, and Holland, diſbanded their extraordinary troops, but he ſtill kept his in pay. Peace was to him a time of conqueſts *.

1680

give them battle in ſix weeks after every defeat. Nor could they, with all their efforts, ever make another conqueſt on the territories of the ſtates general. In the war that ſucceeded the death of king William, Lewis had the mortification to ſee his ſurname of Great melted down as as it were, in a ſeries of defeats and diſaſters, until he was at length obliged to ſue for peace of thoſe very ſtates which he had treated with ſuch inſolence in his proſperity. How was it poſſible that a prince could retain the epithet of Great, in the midſt of ſubjects who found themſelves reduced to miſery by his ambition? who ſaw that ambition blaſted, and that idolized monarch ſinking under diſtemper, and overwhelmed with diſgrace? Beſides, the perſonal character of Lewis, was evidently deficient in that enterpriſing courage and intrepidity, which are reckoned by all the world eſſential ingredients in the conſtitution of a hero.

* While this ſheet was at preſs, there fell into the hands of the editors, a compilation entitled, Memoirs of madame de Maintenon. In the third volume of which work, at the twenty-third page, are the following words: "The union of the courts of Metz and Beſançon," which made us at firſt think that there was a court at Beſançon united to that of Metz. Upon this we conſulted ſeveral authors, but found that there never had been any court at Beſançon appointed for

He was even ſo ſecure of his power at that time, that he eſtabliſhed courts of juriſdiction in Metz and Briſac, for annexing to the crown all the territories which were formerly dependent upon Alſace or the three biſhoprics; but which had from time immemorial been in the hands of other maſters. Several ſovereign princes of the empire, the elector palatine, the king of Spain himſelf, who had ſeveral bailiwicks in theſe countries, and the king of Sweden as duke of Deux Ponts, were ſummoned before theſe courts, to do homage to the king of France, under pain of having their poſſeſſions forfeited. He was the only prince ſince the time of Charlemagne who had acted thus like the lord and judge of crowned heads, and conquered countries by judicial decrees.

The elector palatine, and the elector of Triers, were diſpoſſeſſed of the lordſhips of Falkemburg, Germarſheim, Veldentz, &c. They carried their complaints before the diet of the empire, aſſembled at Ratiſbon, but in vain; for that aſſembly contented itſelf with entering proteſts againſt theſe proceedings.

The king did not think it ſufficient to be thus maſter of ten free cities of Alſace, by the ſame titles which the emperors formerly had: no one even dared to mention liberty in any of thoſe cities. Straſburg yet remained a great and opulent city, and miſtreſs of the Rhine, by

for deciding the territories properly belonging to France; and that in the year 1610, there were only the council of Briſac and Metz, whoſe buſineſs it was to annex to the crown of France the territories which had been diſmembered from Alſace and the three biſhoprics.

means of the bridge which it had upon that river; of itſelf a powerful republic, and famous for its arſenal, which contained nine hundred pieces of cannon.

Louvois had for a long time formed a deſign of putting this city into his maſter's hands. He had already prepared the way by bribery, intrigues, and menaces. The magiſtrates were ſeduced, and the people were ſtruck with conſternation, at ſeeing their ramparts on a ſudden ſurrounded by twenty thouſand French; their forts, by which they were guarded on the ſide of the Rhine, attacked and taken in an inſtant; Louvois at their gates, and their burgomaſters talking of ſurrendering, which Louvois Sept. 30, 1681 accepted, and took poſſeſſion of the town. Vauban has ſince fortified it in ſuch a manner, that it has become the ſtrongeſt barrier of France.

The king kept no better meaſures with Spain: he claimed the town of Aloſt, in the Netherlands, together with its whole bailiwick, which, as was pretended, his miniſters had forgot to inſert in the articles of peace; and upon the Spaniſh court making ſome heſitation in 1682 complying with his demand, he ordered the city of Luxemburgh to be blockaded.

At the ſame time he purchaſed the city of Caſal, of the petty duke of Mantua, who would have ſold all his dominions to ſupply his pleaſures.

Europe began to be alarmed a-freſh, at ſeeing a power which thus extended itſelf on all ſides, and had acquired in the midſt of peace more than ten preceding monarchs of France had gained

gained by all their wars. The emperor, the Dutch, and even the Swedes themſelves, finding great reaſon to be diſpleaſed with Lewis's proceedings, entered into a treaty of aſſociation. The Engliſh threw out ſome threats, the Spaniards reſolved upon a war, and the prince of Orange left no ſtone unturned to blow up the flame; but no power as yet dared to ſtrike the firſt blow *.

The king, who was feared every where, ſought only how to make himſelf more formidable. He encreaſed the power of his marine beyond the moſt ſanguine hopes of his ſubjects, or the livelieſt apprehenſions of his enemies. He had ſixty thouſand ſailors in pay; and this rude body of men were kept to their duty, by laws as ſevere as thoſe obſerved with reſpect to the military forces. The Engliſh and Dutch, on the contrary, though ſuch powerful maritime nations, had neither ſo many ſeamen, nor ſuch

* Some pretend that it was on this occaſion that the prince of Orange publicly expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms: "If I cannot have his friendſhip, I will at leaſt deſerve his eſteem." This ſaying has been preſerved by ſeveral perſons; and the abbé Choiſi places it about the year 1672. It is worthy of ſome attention, as it ſeems a diſtant hint of the confederacies which William afterwards formed againſt Lewis XIV. But it is a miſtake to ſay that it was at the peace of Nimeguen, that the prince of Orange ſpoke theſe words; and it is a ſtill groſſer error to ſuppoſe that Lewis XIV. wrote to that prince in theſe terms: "You aſk me for my friendſhip, I will grant it you when you are deſerving of it." This is the language of a lord to his vaſſal, and ſuch inſulting expreſſions are never made uſe of by one prince in treaty with another. This letter is found no where but in Maintenon's memoirs; and we are informed that this compilation is greatly cenſured for the number of falſities it contains.

good regulations. Several companies of cadets and marine guards were formed, and ſtationed in the frontier-towns and the ſea-ports, who were trained up in all the arts requiſite to their profeſſion, under the care of maſters payed out of the public treaſury.

The harbour of Toulon, in the Mediterranean, was formed at an immenſe expence, capable of containing an hundred ſhips of war, with an arſenal and magnificent ſtore-houſes. The port of Breſt was likewiſe formed in the weſtern ocean, at an equal expence. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with ſhipping, and nature herſelf was forced at Rochfort.

At length Lewis had above an hundred ſhips of the line, of which ſeveral mounted an hundred guns, and others more. Theſe were not ſuffered to lie idle in port. His ſquadrons under the command of Du Queſne cleared the ſeas of the Algerine and Tripoline pirates which infected them, and puniſhed Algiers by the help of a new art; the diſcovery of which was owing to the care he took to encourage all kinds of genius in his reign. This fatal but admirable art is that of bomb-veſſels, with which ſea-port towns may be reduced to aſhes. There was a young man named Bernard Renaud, better known by the name of Little Renaud, who by mere ſtrength of genius, became an excellent mariner, without ever having ſerved on board a ſhip. Colbert, who found out merit wherever it was hidden, had frequently ſent for this man to the council of marine, even when the king was preſent: it was in purſuance of his diligent obſervations and inſtructions, that they afterwards fell upon a more uniform

and eaſy method of building ſhips. Renaud had the boldneſs to propoſe in council to bombard Algiers with a fleet of ſhips. Every one preſent ſtarted at the propoſal, not having the leaſt conception that a mortar could be fired any where but on a ſolid ground: in ſhort, he underwent all the raillery and contradiction which every one muſt expect who offers a new invention; but his firmneſs, and that eloquence which naturally accompanies thoſe who are forcibly ſtruck with their own invention, prevailed upon the king to permit a trial of this new project.

Renaud then cauſed five veſſels to be built of a leſſer ſize than common, but much ſtronger, without any upper decks, and only a platform or falſe deck on the keel, in which hollow ſpaces were formed for receiving the mortars as in beds. Thus equipped, he ſet ſail under the command of old Du Queſne, who had the charge of this expedition, from which he expected little ſucceſs: but the effect of the bombs filled both the admiral and the Algerines with ſurprize, one half of the town being preſently beaten down and laid in aſhes. Oct. 28, 1681
However, this art being ſoon communicated to other nations, ſerved only to multiply the calamities of human kind, and proved more than once fatal to France, where it was invented.

This improvement in the marine within a few years, was wholly owing to the care and vigilance of Colbert. Louvois was continually employed in fortifying upwards of one hundred citadels; beſides building the new ones of Hunningen, Sar-Lewis, the fortreſſes of Sharbourg,

Mont-royal, &c. and while the kingdom was acquiring this exterior ſtrength, the arts flouriſhed within, and pleaſure and abundance reigned every where. Strangers came in crouds to admire the court of Lewis XIV. whoſe name was carried to the moſt diſtant nations of the earth.

His glory and ſucceſs received a farther addition, from the weakneſs of moſt of the other crowned heads in Europe, and the miſerable ſtate of their people. The emperor Leopold was at that time in fear of the rebellious Hungarians, and eſpecially of the Turks, whom they had called in to their aſſiſtance, and were preparing to invade Germany. Lewis thought it politic to perſecute the proteſtants of his own kingdom, in order to prevent them from being able to give him any diſturbance; but he underhand protected the proteſtants and rebels in Hungary, becauſe they might be of ſervice to him. His ambaſſadors at the Turkiſh court had importuned the ſultan to fit out an armament before the peace of Nimeguen. The divan by an unaccountable ſingularity has almoſt always waited till the emperor was at peace to break with him. The war in Hungary was not begun till the year 1682, and the enſuing year, the Turkiſh army of two hundred thouſand men, reinforced by ſeveral bodies of Hungarian troops, meeting with no fortified towns, ſuch as there are in France, nor any regular army to oppoſe its progreſs, advanced to the very gates of Vienna, after laying all waſte in its march.

The emperor Leopold, at the approach of the Turks, quitted Vienna with the utmoſt preci-

cipitation, and retired to Lentz; and when he heard that they had inveſted his capital, he only retired at a ſtill greater diſtance, to Paſſau, leaving the duke of Lorrain at the head of an inconſiderable army, which had already been attacked by the Turks in their march, to defend the empire as well as he could.

No one made the leaſt doubt but that the grand vizir, Cara Muſtapha, who commanded the Ottoman army, would ſoon be maſter of Vienna, a badly fortified city, abandoned by its ſovereign, and defended only by a garriſon of ten thouſand effective men, though called ſixteen thouſand. In ſhort, a dreadful revolution was every moment expected.

Lewis XIV. had the greateſt reaſon to expect that Germany, thus diſtreſſed by the Turks, and having no reſource but in a chief, whoſe flight had encreaſed the general terror, would ſoon be reduced to fly to the protection of France. He had an army on the borders of the empire ready to defend it againſt thoſe very Turks which he had brought thither by his former negociations. By this means he hoped to become protector of the empire, and to make his ſon king of the Romans.

At firſt, when the Turks threatened Auſtria with an invaſion, he added generoſity to his political views; not that he ſent ſuccours a ſecond time to the emperor, but he declared that he would not attack the Low Countries; but would leave the Auſtrian-Spaniſh branch at liberty to aſſiſt that of Germany, which was on the point of being overwhelmed. All that he aſked in return for lying quiet was, to be ſatisfied with reſpect to ſome diſputable points

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in the treaty of Nimeguen, and chiefly relating to the bailiwick of Aloſt, which had by miſtake been omitted in the treaty. He actually ordered the blockade of Luxemburg to be raiſed in 1682, without waiting to be ſatisfied, and abſtained from all hoſtilities for one whole year. But he did not obſerve the ſame generoſity afterwards, during the ſiege of Vienna. The Spaniſh council, inſtead of ſoothing, incenſed him; and he renewed hoſtilities in the Netherlands, at the very time that Vienna was on the point of falling into the hands of the Turks: this was in the beginning of September; but, contrary to all expectation, Vienna was relieved. The preſumption, effeminacy, ignorance, and ſlothfulneſs of the grand vizir, together with his brutal contempt for the Chriſtians, proved his ruin. Nothing leſs than ſuch a combination of faults could have preſerved the capital of the empire. John Sobieſki, king of Poland, had time to march to its relief; and having joined the duke of Lorrain, he preſented himſelf before the Ottoman army, who fled at his firſt appearance. The emperor returned to his capital, grieved and aſtoniſhed at having quitted it. He entered juſt as his deliverer was coming out of the high church, where they had been ſinging Te Deum, and the preacher had taken theſe words for his text: "There was a man ſent from God, and his name was John." You may have already obſerved that the ſame words were applied by pope Pius V. to Don John of Auſtria after the victory of Lepanto. You know that what at firſt appears new is frequently no other than a repetition. The emperor Leopold

Sept. 12 1683

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was at once triumphant and humbled. The French king having no longer any meaſures to keep, bombarded Luxemburg, and ſeized upon Courtrai and Dixmude, in Flanders: he then made himſelf maſter of Triers, and demoliſhed its fortifications; and all this, as he ſaid, to fulfil the ſpirit of the treaties of Nimeguen. The Imperialiſts and Spaniards entered into a negociation with him at Ratiſbon, while he was taking their towns; and the treaty of Nimeguen, which had been infringed, was changed into a truce for twenty years, by which the king was left in poſſeſſion of the city of Luxemburg, and its principality, which he had lately conquered.

Lewis was ſtill more formidable on the coaſt of Barbary, where, till his time, the French had been known only by ſome of their nation, which fell into the hands of the barbarians, and were made ſlaves.

The inhabitants of Algiers, after their city had been twice bombarded, ſent deputies to make their ſubmiſſion, and demand peace. They delivered up all the Chriſtian captives in their poſſeſſion, beſides paying a conſiderable ſum of money, which is the greateſt puniſhment that can be inflicted on a corſair.

Tunis and Tripoli made the like ſubmiſſions; and here it may not be impertinent to relate the following anecdote. One Damfreville, a captain of a French ſhip of war, being come to Algiers to releaſe all the Chriſtian captives there, in the French king's name, found ſeveral Engliſhmen among them, who, after they were on board, inſiſted to Damfreville that it was on the king of England's account that they had been

been ſet at liberty; upon which the French captain ſent for the Algerine officers, and putting the Engliſh into their hands again, "Theſe people, ſaid he, pretend that they are releaſed wholly in their own king's name; mine therefore will not take the liberty of offering them his protection: I therefore deliver them up to you again; it now remains with you to ſhew what you owe the king of England." The Engliſh were carried back to their former ſlavery: this anecdote may ſerve to ſhew the pride of the Engliſh, the weakneſs of Charles IId's adminiſtration, and the reſpect which all nations had for Lewis XIV.

This reſpect was ſo general, that new honours were granted to his ambaſſador at the Ottoman porte, the ſame as to the ſopha's, at the very time that he was humbling the people of Barbary, who are immediately under the protection of the grand ſignor.

The republic of Genoa humbled itſelf before him ſtill more than that of Algiers. The Genoeſe had ſold powder and bombs to the Algerines; they were likewiſe building four gallies for the ſervice of the king of Spain. The king ſent St. Olon, one of his gentlemen in ordinary, in character of envoy, to forbid their launching thoſe galleys, threatening them with inſtant puniſhment if they did not comply with his will. The Genoeſe, incenſed at this attempt upon their liberties, and reckoning too much upon the aſſiſtance of Spain, refuſed to give the king any ſatisfaction. Immediately fourteen large ſhips, twelve galleys, ſix bomb veſſels, and ſeveral frigates, ſet ſail from the port of Toulon, having on board the new ſecretary

cretary of the marine, Seignelai, ſon to the famous Colbert *, who had procured him this employ

* John Baptiſt Colbert, marquis de Seignelai and Chateauneuf ſur-cher, baron de Sceaux, de Lenieres, d'Ormos, miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate, commander and high treaſurer of the king's orders, comptroller general of the finances, ſuperintendant of the buildings, arts, and manufactures of France, may be juſtly ſtiled the ableſt and beſt miniſter that any kingdom in Europe ever produced. He was born at Paris, the ſon of Nicholas Colbert, lord of Vandieres, and counſellor of ſtate: but he deſcended from the Scotch family of Cuthbert, a branch of which ſettled in Champagne in the thirteenth century, as appears by the tomb of Richard Colbert, at the Cordeliers in Rheims, having this inſcription engraved in Gothic Letters: *Cy git le preux chevalier Richard Colbert, dit ly Ecoſſois, kif ... 1300 ... priez pour l'ame de ly.* In the middle of the ſtone is a ſcutcheon with the knight's arms, being a wreathed ſnake in pale; and under it the following diſtich:

En Ecoſſe j'eus le Berceau,
Et Rheims m'a donné le Tombeau.

Colbert the miniſter attached himſelf to cardinal Mazarin, who favoured him with his confidence, and recommended him to the king as a man of unſhaken fidelity, indefatigable application, and extenſive capacity. After the cardinal's death, Lewis appointed Colbert comptroller-general of the finances, which were in terrible diſorder; and he had all the reaſon in the world to be pleaſed with this diſpoſition. To Colbert alone, all the glory which Lewis acquired by his external wars, and internal adminiſtration, may be juſtly attributed. Colbert improved and eſtabliſhed the finances in ſuch a manner, as enabled the king to maintain armies that all Europe could not oppoſe. Colbert introduced and ſupported manufactures, extended and protected commerce, and raiſed the marine of France to a moſt formidable pitch of power. He advanced the liberal arts, by inſtituting academies, induſtriouſly ſearching after and rewarding merit; inviting artiſts from all parts of Europe, and gratifying them with penſions adequate to their deſert. He opened a communication between the two ſeas, by com-

employ before his death. This young man was full of ambition, courage, wit, and vivacity, and wanted to be at once the ſoldier and the miniſter; he was greedy of honour, ardent in all his undertakings, and knew how to blend pleaſures with buſineſs, without impeding either. Old Du Queſne had the command of the large ſhips, and the duke of Mortemar of the galleys; but they were both dependents on the ſecretary of ſtate. The fleet arrives before Genoa, and the ten bomb veſſels throw fourteen thouſand ſhells into the town, by which a part of thoſe noble marble buildings, from whence Genoa had its name of Superb, were reduced to aſhes. Four thouſand men were then landed from the fleet, who advanced to the gates of the city, and burnt the ſuburb of St. Pietro d'Arena. The inhabitants now found it neceſſary to ſubmit, in order to avoid total ruin. The king inſiſted that the doge and four of the principal ſenators of Genoa, ſhould repair to his palace of Verſailles, there to implore his clemency; and leſt the Genoeſe ſhould elude the required ſatisfaction, and diminiſh any thing from his glory on this occaſion, he farther inſiſted that the doge ſhould be continued in his office, notwithſtanding a perpetual law in Genoa, by which any doge who is abſent but a moment from the city is deprived of his dignity.

March 17, 1684

compleating the canal of Languedoc. He formed and fortified harbours; built docks and arſenals: in a word, there was not a remarkable work, either of magnificence or utility in France, that did not owe its origin to Colbert, whom we would propoſe as the perfect model of a miniſter.

Im-

Imperialo Leſcaro, doge of Genoa, accompanied by the ſenators Lomellino, Garebaldi, Durazzo, and Salvago, repaired to Verſailles to perform all that the king demanded of them. The doge dreſt in his robes of ſtate, with a red velvet cap on his head, which he frequently took off while he ſpoke, made his ſubmiſſion; the words and geſtures he uſed on this occaſion were all dictated by Seignelai. The king gave him audience ſitting, and covered; but, as in every action of his life he always joined politeneſs with dignity, he behaved towards Leſcaro and the ſenators with as much goodneſs as pomp. His miniſters, Louvois, Croiſſi, and Seignelai, treated them more haughtily, which made the doge ſay, "The king deprives our hearts of liberty, by the manner in which he receives us; but his miniſters reſtore it to us again." This doge was a man of great wit and underſtanding. Every one knows the anſwer he made to the marquis of Seignelai, when he aſked him what he thought moſt remarkable at Verſailles; "To ſee myſelf there," replied he. Feb. 22, 1685

The great fondneſs which Lewis XIV. had for pomp and ſhew, was ſtill more gratified by an embaſſy which he received from Siam, a country which, till that time, had never heard of ſuch a kingdom as France. It happened by one of thoſe extraordinary events which prove the ſuperiority of the Europeans over all other nations, that a Greek, named Phalk Conſtance, the ſon of a tavern-keeper at Cephalonia, was made barcalon, that is prime-miniſter, or grand-vizir of the kingdom of Siam. This man, deſirous of ſtrengthening and encreaſing his authority,

thority, wanted for that purpoſe to call in ſome foreign aſſiſtance, but did not dare to truſt either the Dutch or the Engliſh, who are dangerous neighbours in the Indies. The French had lately ſettled ſome factories on the coaſt of Coromandel, and had brought the fame of their monarch with them into that extreme part of Aſia. Conſtance thought Lewis XIV. a proper perſon to be flattered by a homage which came from ſo diſtant a place, and ſo little expected. Religion, which is the maſter-ſpring of worldly politics from Siam to Paris, proved ſubſervient to his deſign; accordingly he ſent a
1684 ſolemn embaſſy, and magnificent preſents, in the name of the king of Siam, his maſter, to Lewis XIV. to acquaint him, that the Indian monarch, charmed with his fame, was reſolved to enter into a treaty of commerce with no other nation than the French, and that he had even ſome thoughts of becoming a Chriſtian. The king thus flattered in his greatneſs, and deceived on the ſide of religion, engaged to ſend the king of Siam two ambaſſadors and ſix Jeſuits, to whom he afterwards added ſome officers and eight hundred ſoldiers. But the pomp of this embaſſy was all the fruit it produced. Conſtance, four years afterwards, fell the victim of his own ambition. The few French who remained with him were partly maſſacred, and the reſt obliged to fly; and his widow, after having been on the point of becoming queen, was, by the king of Siam's ſucceſſor, condemned to ſerve in his kitchen as a cook, an employment which ſuited with her birth.

That

That thirſt of glory which led Lewis XIV. to diſtinguiſh himſelf in every thing from other kings, ſhewed itſelf again in the haughty manner with which he affected to treat the court of Rome. Odeſcalchi, the ſon of a banker of Milan, was at that time in the papal chair, by the name of Innocent XI. He was a virtuous man, a prudent pontiff, a middling divine, and a courageous, reſolute, and magnificent prince. He aſſiſted the empire and the Poles againſt the Turks with his money, and the Venetians with his galleys. He blamed the conduct of Lewis XIV. in the ſevereſt terms, who had joined with the Turks againſt the Chriſtians. It was ſurpriſing to ſee a pope thus warmly eſpouſing the cauſe of the emperors, who ſtile themſelves king of the Romans, and would, if they could, eſtabliſh the ſeat of their empire in Rome; but Odeſcalchi was born under the Auſtrian dominion, and had even made two campaigns in the army of Milan. All men are governed by habit and humour: his pride was hurt by the haughtineſs of Lewis, who on his ſide did every thing to mortify him that a king of France can do to a pope, without abſolutely ſeparating from his communion. An abuſe had prevailed for a long time in Rome, which was the more difficult to be eradicated, as it was founded on a point of honour upon which the catholics piqued themſelves. Their ambaſſadors at Rome extended the right of franchiſe and aſylum belonging to their palaces to a great diſtance, under the general name of quarters. Theſe privileges, which were ſtrictly maintained, made one half of Rome an aſylum for all kinds of villainy. By another abuſe, whatever was brought into Rome

under

under the ambaſſador's name, was free from all duty. By this means trade ſuffered, and the ſtate was impoveriſhed.

At length pope Innocent XI. prevailed on the emperor, the kings of Spain and Poland, and on the new king of England, James II. who was a catholic, to give up theſe odious privileges. The nuncio Ranucci propoſed to Lewis to concur with theſe princes in reſtoring the peace and good order of Rome; but Lewis, who in his heart hated the pope, returned for anſwer, "That he never regulated his conduct by the example of others, who rather ought himſelf to ſerve as an example for them." He then ſent the marquis of Lavardin on an embaſſy to Rome, purpoſely to inſult the pope. November, 1687 Lavardin accordingly makes his entry into that city in ſpite of the pope's prohibition, and eſcorted by four hundred of the marine guards, the ſame number of volunteer officers, and two hundred men in livery, all armed. He immediately went, and took poſſeſſion of his palace, the quarters thereunto belonging, and the church of St. Lewis, round which he ordered centinels to be placed, and to go the rounds as in a garriſon. The pope is the only ſovereign to whom ſuch an embaſſy can be ſent; for the ſuperiority which he always affects over crowned heads, makes them always deſirous of humbling him, and the weakneſs of his dominions permit them to inſult him with impunity. All that Innocent XI. could do, was to attack the marquis of Lavardin with the worn out weapons of excommunication, weapons which are now as little regarded in Rome as elſewhere, but which never-

nevertheleſs are employed as an antient ceremonial, in the ſame manner as the pope's ſoldiers carry arms, merely for form's ſake.

Cardinal d'Eſtrée, a man of ſenſe, but generally unfortunate in his negociations, was at that time reſident from the court of France at Rome. D'Eſtrée being obliged to make frequent viſits to the marquis of Lavardin, could not afterwards be admitted to an audience of the pope without receiving abſolution; he in vain endeavoured to evade this ceremony: Innocent perſiſted in giving it to him, in order to keep up an imaginary power, by the cuſtoms on which it was founded.

Lewis, through the ſame motives of pride, though ſecretly ſupported by politics, endeavoured to make an elector of Cologne. Full of the ſcheme of dividing or making war with the empire, he thought to confer this electorate on cardinal Furſtemberg, biſhop of Straſburg, his creature and the victim of his intereſts, and an irreconcileable enemy to the emperor, who had ordered him to be impriſoned in the preceding war, as a German who had ſold himſelf to France.

The chapter of Cologne, like all the other chapters of Germany, has a right to nominate its biſhop, who by that becomes elector. The perſon who then filled this ſee was Ferdinand of Bavaria, formerly the ally, and afterwards the enemy, of Lewis, as many other princes had been. He now lay at the point of death. The king, by money, intrigues, and promiſes, prevailed on the canons to chuſe Furſtemberg coadjutor; and after the death of Ferdinand he was choſen a ſecond time by a majority of votes.

By

By the Germanic concordat the pope has a right of conferring the biſhopric on the biſhop elect, and the emperor that of confirming him in the electorate. The emperor and pope Innocent perſuaded, that to leave Furſtemberg in poſſeſſion of the electoral dignity, was the ſame as if they had given it to Lewis XIV. joined together to beſtow this principality upon young Bavaria, brother to the deceaſed prince.

October, 1688 The king revenged himſelf on the pope by taking Avignon from him, and made preparations for a war againſt the emperor. At the ſame time he diſturbed the elector-palatine, on account of the rights of the princeſs-palatine Adame, ſecond wife to the duke of Orleans, rights which ſhe had renounced by her marriage-articles. The war began in Spain, in the year 1667, on account of the claims of Maria Thereſa, notwithſtanding a like renunciation made, plainly proves that contracts can only bind private perſons.

In this manner did the king, in the height of his greatneſs, perplex, ſtrip, or humble almoſt all the princes of Europe, but they in return almoſt all joined in league againſt him *.

* Notwithſtanding the great encomiums laviſhed upon Lewis, by the writers of the French nation, we will venture to ſay, that whatever proofs he exhibited of magnificence and opulence, of oppreſſion and power, he ſhewed very few of real wiſdom and policy; for, by his rapacity, inſolence, and cruelty, he provoked all the ſtates of Europe to form a confederacy againſt him, which ſtripped him of all his glory, and reduced his people to indigence and miſery.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXXVIII.

King JAMES of ENGLAND dethroned by his Son-in-law WILLIAM III. and protected by Lewis XIV.

THE prince of Orange, ſtill more ambitious than even Lewis XIV. had conceived vaſt deſigns, which might appear chimerical in a ſtadtholder of Holland, but which he juſtified by his great abilities and courage. He wanted to humble the king of France and dethrone the king of England. He found no great difficulty in getting the powers of Europe by little and little to join with him againſt France; the emperor, ſome princes of the empire, the Dutch, and the duke of Lorrain, had at firſt entered into a private league at 1681 Augſburg, and were ſoon after joined by Spain and the duke of Savoy. The pope, without being actually one of the confederates, ſet them all at work by his intrigues. The Venetians, without openly declaring themſelves, favoured their deſigns in ſecret, and all the princes of Italy were in their intereſt. In the North, Sweden at that time ſided with the Imperialiſts, and Denmark was an uſeleſs ally to France. Upwards of five hundred thouſand proteſtants, who had been driven out of France by the perſecution of Lewis, and had carried with them their induſtry, and an irreconcilable hatred to the French king, were as a new body of enemies, who diſperſed themſelves through all the courts of Europe, and animated the confederate powers, already inclined to war. (We

ſhall ſpeak of the flight of theſe people in the chapter of religion.) The king was ſurrounded by enemies on all ſides, and had no friend but king James of England.

James, who ſucceeded his brother Charles II. was a catholic as well as him; but Charles did not conſent to become a catholic, till towards the latter end of his life, and then only out of compliance with his miſtreſſes and his brother. In fact, he acknowleged no other religion but that of pure deiſm. His perfect indifference in thoſe points which divide mankind in their diſputations, had contributed not a little to render his reign peaceable among the Engliſh. James, on the contrary, attached by ſtrong perſuaſion to the Roman-catholic religion from his youth, joined to his belief the ſpirit of party and zeal. Had he been a Mahometan, or of the religion of Confucius, the Engliſh would never have diſturbed his reign; but he formed a deſign to eſtabliſh the Roman-catholic religion in his kingdom*, which is looked upon with the

* In Vol. III. of the memoirs of madam de Maintenon, in the fourth chapter, entitled, *Of the King and Queen of* England, we meet with an unaccountable jumble of falſities. It is there ſaid, that the following queſtion was propoſed by the Civilians: "Whether the people have a right to rebel againſt the authority which endeavours to force a belief upon them?" But here the affair was quite the reverſe; the Engliſh oppoſed the king's intention of tolerating the Roman-catholic religion. The point in diſpute was, "Whether the king had a power to diſpenſe with the teſt oath in thoſe whom he admitted to employments?"

The ſame writer ſays, that pope Innocent XI. made the prince of Orange a preſent of two hundred thouſand ducats, to go and root out the Roman-catholic religion in England.

the utmoſt horror by theſe republican royaliſts, as a religion of ſlavery. It is ſometimes a very eaſy matter to eſtabliſh a religion in a country; Conſtantine, Clovis, Guſtavus Vaſa, and queen Elizabeth, did, without any danger, introduce a new religion into their kingdoms by different methods, and got it received by the people; but to bring about changes of this kind, there are two things abſolutely neceſſary, a depth of po-

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He likewiſe affirms in the ſame rash manner, that Innocent IX. ordered ſeveral thouſand maſſes to be ſaid for the prince of Orange's ſucceſs. It is well known that this pontiff favoured the league of Augſburg, but he never acted in a manner ſo ridiculous and contrary to what he owed to his dignity. The Spaniſh envoy at the Hague indeed ordered prayers to be publicly ſaid in his chapel for the ſucceſs of the Dutch fleet, of which monſieur d'Avaux ſent advice to his maſter Lewis.

This writer alſo gives us to underſtand, that the count d'Avaux corrupted the members of the ſtate; but he is miſtaken here again, it was the count d'Eſtrade. He is likewiſe wrong in point of time; this happened twenty-four years before. See Mr. d'Eſtrade's letter to Mr. de Lionne, dated Sept. 17, 1665.

The ſame author has the aſſurance to quote biſhop Burnet, whom he makes to ſay, in expreſſing a particular vice in the prince of Orange, that "He was fond only of back-doors *;" now there is not a ſingle word in all Burnet's hiſtory which bears the leaſt reſemblance to ſo low an expreſſion, and ſo unworthy the pen of an hiſtorian; and though ſome compiler of anecdotes may have pretended that biſhop Burnet ſuffered ſo indecent an expreſſion to eſcape him in converſation, ſuch an obſcure teſtimony ought not ſurely to prevail againſt an authentic hiſtory.

* Though Burnet did not uſe the groſs expreſſion mentioned above, yet certain it is, he inſinuated ſomething almoſt equivalent, to the prejudice of William's character, by recording a ſcandalous report that the king was addicted to a ſecret vice. But, this expreſſion is omitted in the late editions of Burnet's hiſtory.

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litics, and a lucky concurrence of circumſtances, both of which were wanting to James.

He could not without indignation reflect, that ſo many kings of Europe were deſpotic; that thoſe of Sweden and Denmark were lately become ſo; and, in a word, that Poland and England were the only kingdoms in the world where the liberty of the people ſubſiſted at the ſame time with royalty. He was encouraged by Lewis XIV. to render himſelf abſolute at home, and the Jeſuits perſuaded him to reſtore their religion, and with it their credit; but he took ſuch unfortunate meaſures to compaſs this, that at his firſt ſetting out he turned all hearts againſt him. He began as if he had already obtained the end he aimed at: he entertained a nuncio from the pope publicly at his court, with a train of Jeſuits and Capuchin friars; he threw ſeven Engliſh biſhops into priſon, whom he ought rather to have won over by gentle means; deprived the city of London of its privileges, inſtead of indulging it with new ones; and overturned the laws with an high hand, which he ſhould have ſecretly undermined; in a word, he acted with ſo little diſcretion, that the cardinals at Rome uſed to ſay of him by way of jeſt, "That he ought to be excommunicated, as a perſon who was going about to deſtroy the little catholic religion that remained in England."

Pope Innocent XI. conceived ſuch indifferent hopes of James's projects, that he never would grant a cardinal's hat which that prince ſollicited for his confeſſor father Peters. This Jeſuit was a hot-headed intriguing man, who, mad with the ambition of becoming a cardinal and primate

primate of England, puſhed his maſter on to the precipice. The principal perſons of the kingdom combined together in ſecret to prevent the king's deſigns, and ſent a deputation to the prince of Orange. They conducted their plot with ſuch prudence and ſecrecy, that the court was lulled in full ſecurity.

The prince of Orange fitted out a fleet of ſhips *, on board of which were to be embarked between fourteen and fifteen thouſand men. This prince, who was only an illuſtrious private perſon, and had hardly five hundred thouſand livres a-year of his own eſtate, was nevertheleſs ſo happy in his politics, that he ſaw himſelf maſter of money, a fleet, and the hearts of the ſtates-general. He was truly a king in Holland by his ſkilful conduct, while James loſt all regal power in England by his precipitate raſhneſs.

It was at firſt given out that this armament was deſigned againſt France. The true deſtination was kept a profound ſecret, though entruſted with more than two hundred perſons. Ba-

* The author of Maintenon's memoirs aſſerts, that the prince of Orange finding the ſtates-general refuſed to grant him a ſupply, entered the aſſembly, and addreſſed them in this manner: "Gentlemen, there will be a war next ſpring, and I deſire that this prediction may be regiſtered." In proof of this he quotes the count d'Avaux, and ſays, that this miniſter ſaw through the whole deſign of the prince of Orange. It is hardly poſſible to jumble together falſities in a worſe manner. Nine thouſand ſailors were ready aſſembled in the year 1687. The count d'Avaux does not mention a ſyllable of this pretended ſpeech of the prince of Orange. Nor had he the leaſt ſuſpicion of that prince's real deſign, till the 20th May, 1688. See his letter to the king of that date.

rillon, the French ambaſſador at London, a man of pleaſure, and more converſant in the intrigues of James's miſtreſſes, than thoſe of Europe, was the firſt impoſed upon. Lewis XIV. however was not to be thus deceived; he ſaw what was going forward, and offered his aſſiſtance to his friend and ally, who, thinking himſelf ſecure, rejected that aid which he afterwards ſollicited when it was too late, and his ſon-in-law the prince of Orange's fleet was under ſail. He had been wanting to himſelf, and he now found every thing fail him at once. He in vain wrote to the emperor Leopold: that prince returned for anſwer, "Nothing has befallen you but what we had foretold." He depended upon his fleet, but his ſhips ſuffered thoſe of the enemy to paſs them. He might however have defended himſelf by land: he had an army of twenty thouſand men, and if he had led them on without giving them time for reflection, it is probable they would have done their duty; but inſtead of that, he gave them leiſure to fix their determination. Several of his general officers abandoned him, and among the reſt the famous Churchill, who afterwards proved as fatal to Lewis as he had done to James, and became ſo illuſtrious under the name of the duke of Marlborough. He was the favourite of James, his creature, brother to his miſtreſs, and a lieutenant-general in his army; notwithſtanding which he left him, and went over to the prince of Orange at his camp. James likewiſe ſaw himſelf abandoned by his ſon-in-law the prince of Denmark, and even by his own daughter, the princeſs Anne.

October, 1688

1688

And

And now finding himſelf attacked and purſued by one of his ſons-in-law, abandoned by the other, deſerted by his own daughters and boſom-friends, and hated even by thoſe of his ſubjects who were of his own party, he looked upon his fortune as deſperate; and, without waiting for the iſſue of a battle, reſolved upon flight, the laſt reſource of a vanquiſhed prince. At length, after being ſtopt in his flight by the populace, ill-treated by them, and carried back to London, receiving ſubmiſſively the orders of the prince of Orange in his own palace, ſeeing his guard relieved by that prince's, without the leaſt reſiſtance, driven from his houſe, and made a priſoner at Rocheſter, he took advantage of the liberty purpoſely given him, to quit his kingdom, and ſeek an aſylum in France.

This was the epocha of the true Engliſh liberty. The nation, repreſented by its parliament, fixed the long conteſted limits of the royal prerogative, and the privileges of the people; and having preſcribed to the prince of Orange the conditions on which he was to reign, choſe him for their king jointly with his wife Mary, the daughter of king James. From that time this prince was acknowledged by the greateſt part of Europe as the lawful king of England, by the name of William III. and the deliverer of that nation; but in France they conſidered him only as the prince of Orange, the uſurper of the dominions of his father-in-law.

The fugitive king came with his wife, the daughter of the duke of Modena, and their ſon the prince of Wales, as yet an infant, to implore the protec- January, 1689

tion of Lewis XIV. The queen of England, who arrived a little time before her huſband, was aſtoniſhed at the ſplendour with which the French monarch was ſurrounded, and that profuſion of magnificence which ſhe beheld at Verſailles; and ſtill more ſo at the reception ſhe met with from the king, who went as far as Chatou to meet her *. "I now do you a melancholy ſervice, madam, (ſaid he.) I hope, before it is long, to render you one more conſiderable and fortunate." This was his very expreſſion. He then conducted her to the palace of St. Germain, where ſhe met with the ſame attendance as the queen of France herſelf would have had, and was furniſhed with every thing that miniſters to convenience or luxury; preſents of all kinds, in gold, ſilver, plate, jewels, and rich ſtuffs.

Among other preſents ſhe found a purſe of ten thouſand louis d'ors laid on her toilet. The ſame attention was paid to the king her huſband, who arrived juſt one day after her; he had ſix hundred thouſand franks a-year ſettled upon him for the expences of his houſhold, beſides an infinite number of preſents which were made him. He had the king's own officers and guards. But this noble reception was little, in compariſon of the preparations which were made for reſtoring him to his throne. Never did monarch appear ſo grand as Lewis on this occaſion, and James ſeemed as mean. Thoſe of the court and city, by whoſe opinions the reputations of men are decided, conceived very

* See Madame de Sevigne's letters, and the memoirs of Madame de la Fayette.

little

little eſteem for him. He ſaw nobody but Jeſuits. He alighted at their college in St. Anthony's ſtreet in Paris; he told them that he was a Jeſuit as well as themſelves; and, what is ſtill more extraordinary, he ſaid the truth. He had got himſelf admitted into this order with certain ceremonies, by four Engliſh Jeſuits, when he was only duke of York. This weakneſs of mind in a prince, joined to the manner in which he had loſt his crown, rendered him ſo deſpicable, that the courtiers diverted themſelves every day with making ſongs upon him. He was driven from England, and ridiculed in France, where no one gave him any credit for being a catholic. The archbiſhop of Rheims, brother of Louvois the miniſter, ſaid openly in his antichamber at St. Germain, "There's a good man, who has given up three kingdoms for a maſs." From Rome he received only indulgences and paſquinades. In a word, throughout the whole of this revolution, his religion was of ſo little ſervice to him, that when the prince of Orange, who was the head of the Calviniſts, ſet ſail to go and dethrone his father-in-law, the catholic king's miniſter at the Hague ordered maſſes to be ſaid for the ſucceſs of his expedition.

In the midſt of the humiliations which befel this fugitive prince, and the immenſe liberality of Lewis XIV. towards him, it was a ſpectacle worthy of attention, to ſee James touching for the king's evil in the little convent of the Engliſh nuns; whether that the kings of England have arrogated this ſingular privilege to themſelves, as pretenders to the crown of France,

or that this ceremony has been eſtabliſhed among them ſince the time of the firſt Edward.

The king ſoon ſent him over to Ireland, where the Roman-catholics ſtill formed a very conſiderable party; a ſquadron of thirteen ſhips of the firſt rate lay in Breſt-road, ready to carry him over. All the officers, courtiers, and even the prieſts, who had repaired to James at St. Germain, had their paſſage to Breſt defrayed at the French king's expence. An ambaſſador (Monſieur d'Avaux) was nominated to atttend the dethroned king, and followed him in great ſtate. Arms and ammunition of all kinds were put on board the fleet, and every ſort of utenſil, from the meaneſt to the moſt valuable. The king went to St. Germain to take his leave of him; where, for the laſt preſent, he gave him his own ſuit of armour, and embracing him affectionately, "The beſt thing I can wiſh you, (ſaid he) is never to ſee you here again." James had ſcarcely landed in Ireland with this great preparation, when he was followed by twenty-three large ſhips more, and a prodigious number of tranſports, under the command of Chatteau Renaud. This fleet having engaged and diſperſed the Engliſh ſquadron, which attempted to oppoſe its paſſage, and landed the troops in ſafety, on its return fell in with and took ſeven Dutch merchantmen, and came back to Breſt victorious over the Engliſh *, and laden with the ſpoils of the Dutch.

May 12, 1689

In

* Who would not imagine from this expreſſion that the French fleet had ſubdued England? whereas the truth of the matter is this: the French ſquadron falling in with the Engliſh fleet under Herbert, which was greatly inferior to them

In a very ſhort time afterwards a third ſupply ſet ſail from the harbours of Breſt, Toulon, and Rochefort. The ports of Ireland and the Engliſh channel were covered with French ſhips. At length Tourville, vice-admiral of France, with ſeventy-two ſail of large ſhips, fell in with the Engliſh and Dutch fleet of ſixty ſail, and a fight enſued which laſted ten hours; on this occaſion Tourville, Chatteau Renaud, d'Eſtrée, and Nemond, ſignalized themſelves by their courage and ſkill, and reflected an honour on the French navy to which it had till then been a ſtranger. The Engliſh and Dutch, who till then had been maſters of the ocean, and from whom the French had but a little time before learnt the art of fighting their ſhips in line of battle, were totally defeated. Seventeen of their ſhips diſmaſted, or rendered uſeleſs, were run aſhore and burnt by themſelves*, the reſt took refuge in the Thames, or on the banks of Holland. In this whole engagement the French loſt but one ſmall veſſel. And now, what March, 1690

them in number, an engagement enſued, in which there was not one veſſel loſt on either ſide; and the two ſquadrons ſeemed to part by conſent. Herbert put to ſea, and Chatteau Renaud retired into Bantry-bay, in Ireland.

* The French fleet conſiſted of ſeventy-eight ſhips of war, and two and twenty fire-ſhips; whereas the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland did not exceed fifty-ſix, ſo that the enemy had a ſuperiority of twenty-two. In this engagement, the Dutch loſt ſix ſhips of the line; and the loſs of the Engliſh amounted to two. Admiral Herbert, then lord Torrington, was deprived of his command, and ſent priſoner to the Tower, in conſequence of the complaints of the ſtates-general, who affirmed that he had ſacrificed the Dutch ſquadron in the engagement.

Lewis had been wiſhing for upwards of twenty years, and which ſeemed ſo little probable, came to paſs; he had the empire of the ſea, an empire which indeed was but of ſhort duration. The enemy's ſhips of war fled before his fleets; Seignelai, who dared to attempt the greateſt things, brought the galleys of Marſeilles upon the main ocean; and the ſea-coaſt of England beheld this kind of veſſel for the firſt time: by the help of theſe galleys a deſcent was made at Tinmouth, and upwards of thirty merchant-ſhips burnt in that bay. The privateers of St. Malo and the new harbour of Dunkirk enriched themſelves and the ſtate, by continual prizes. In a word, for the ſpace of two years, there was not a ſhip to be ſeen on the ſea but thoſe of France.

King James did not ſecond in Ireland theſe great efforts made by Lewis in his favour. He had with him near ſix thouſand French, and fifteen thouſand Iriſh ſoldiers. The river Boyne ran between his army and king William's: this river was fordable, the water not being higher than the men's ſhoulders; but after it was paſſed, there was a deep marſh to croſs before they could attack the Iriſh army, after which a ſteep ground preſented itſelf, which formed a kind of natural entrenchment. William made his army paſs the river in three places, and began the battle. The Iriſh, who are known to be ſuch good ſoldiers in France and Spain, have always behaved ill in their own country. There are certain nations which ſeem made to be ſubject to another; the Engliſh have always been ſuperior to the Iriſh in genius, riches, and arms. Ireland has never been

July, 1690

been able to throw off the Engliſh yoke ſince firſt ſubdued by an Engliſh nobleman. The French ſtood their ground at the battle of the Boyne; the Iriſh gave way and fled. King James, who had not once made his appearance during the engagement, either at the head of the French or Iriſh, was the firſt to retreat, and yet he had given proofs of great courage on other occaſions; but there are times when valour is loſt in diſpiritedneſs. K. William having had his ſhoulder grazed by a cannon-ball before the battle, it was reported and believed in France that he was killed. This falſe report was received at Paris with a ſcandalous and indecent joy. The citizens and populace, encouraged by ſome of the under magiſtrates, made illuminations, rung the bells, and, in ſeveral quarters of the town, they burnt figures made of oſier, to repreſent the prince of Orange, in the ſame manner as they burn the pope in London. The cannon of the Baſtile were likewiſe fired, not by the king's order, but through the indiſcreet zeal of the commandant. It might be ſuppoſed from theſe great marks of ſatisfaction, and what is ſaid by a number of writers, that this mad joy at the ſuppoſed death of an enemy, was the effect of the great dread they had of him. Almoſt every writer, French and Engliſh, have obſerved that theſe rejoicings were the greateſt panegyric that could be made on William III. Nevertheleſs, if we only conſider the circumſtances of the times, and the ſpirit which then reigned, we ſhall preſently diſcover that theſe tranſports of joy were not produced by fear. The lower kind of citizens, and the populace, know not what it is to fear

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an enemy, unleſs when he threatens their city. Far from dreading the name of William III. the common people in France were ſo unjuſt as to deſpiſe him. He had almoſt always been beaten by French generals. The vulgar were ignorant how much real glory that prince had acquired even in his defeats. William, the victor of James in Ireland, did not yet appear, in the eyes of the French, an enemy worthy of Lewis XIV. The people of Paris, who idolized their monarch, thought him abſolutely invincible. The rejoicings then were not the effect of fear, but hatred; moſt of the Pariſians, who were born under the reign of Lewis, and moulded to deſpotic ſway, looked upon a king at that time as a demiged, and an uſurper as a ſacrilegious monſter. The common people, who had ſeen James going every day to maſs, deteſted William as an heretic. The idea of a ſon-in-law and a daughter, proteſtants, driving their father, a catholic, from his throne, and reigning in his ſtead, together with that of an enemy to their king, tranſported the Pariſians to a degree of fury; but prudent people were of a more moderate way of thinking.

James returned to France, leaving his rival to gain new battles in Ireland, and ſettle himſelf on the throne. The French fleets were then employed in bringing back their countrymen, who had fought to no purpoſe, and the Irish Roman Catholics, who being extremely poor in their own country, choſe to go over to France and ſubſiſt upon the king's liberality.

Fortune had apparently very little ſhare in any part of this revolution, from the beginning to the end. The characters of William and James

James did every thing. Thoſe who delight to trace the cauſes of events in the conduct of men will remark, that king William, after his victory, cauſed a general amneſty to be publiſhed; and that king James, on the contrary, in his way through a little town called Galloway, hanged ſome of the inhabitants, who had adviſed ſhutting the gates againſt him. Of two men behaving in this manner, we may eaſily perceive who would be moſt likely to prevail.

There were ſtill ſome towns in Ireland that remained in James's intereſt, and among the reſt Limerick, in which there were above twelve thouſand ſoldiers. The French king, who ſtill perſevered in ſupporting James's deſperate fortunes, ordered three thouſand regular troops to be tranſported over to Limerick; and by an additional generoſity he ſent all proviſions neceſſary for the maintenance of a numerous garriſon. Forty tranſport veſſels, under the convoy of twelve ſhips of war, carried over every needful ſupply of workmen's tools, carriages, engineers, gunners, bombardeers, with two hundred maſons, a number of ſaddles, bridles, and harneſſes for upwards of twenty thouſand horſe; cannon, with their carriages, muſkets, piſtols, and ſwords for twenty-ſix thouſand men; beſides proviſions and cloathing, even to ſhoes. Limeric, though beſieged, being thus abundantly furniſhed with ſupplies of every kind, hoped to ſee its king fight in its defence; but James not appearing, Limeric ſurrendered, and the French ſhips returned once more to the coaſt of Ireland, and brought back to France about twenty thouſand ſoldiers and inhabitants.

What

What is perhaps more extraordinary than all the reſt is, that Lewis was not diſcouraged by theſe continued diſappointments; and though he had a difficult war to ſupport againſt the greateſt part of Europe, he nevertheleſs endeavoured once more to change the fortune of the unhappy king of England, by a deciſive ſtroke, by making a deſcent in England with twenty thouſand men, which were aſſembled between Cherburg and La Hogue. Upwards of three hundred ſail of tranſport veſſels lay ready to receive them at Breſt. Tourville, with forty-four capital ſhips, cruiſed off the coaſt of Normandy to wait for them. D'Eſtrée arrived in the port of Toulon with thirty ſhips more. As there are ſome misfortunes which ariſe from bad conduct, ſo there are others that can only be imputed to fortune. The wind, which was at firſt favourable to D'Eſtrée's ſquadron, changed, and made it impoſſible for him to join Tourville, who with his forty-four ſhips was attacked by the combined fleets of England and Holland, conſiſting of near an hundred ſail: the French were obliged to yield to ſuperior numbers; but not till after an obſtinate fight of ten hours. Ruſſel, the Engliſh admiral, purſued him for two days. Fourteen large ſhips, of which there were two that carried one hundred and four guns, ran aſhore, and the captains ſet fire to them*, to prevent their being burnt by the enemy.

July 29, 1692

* The Engliſh hiſtorians ſay the French fleet amounted to ſixty-three ſhips of the line, and that a greater number of the French than of the Engliſh were engaged. Certain it is, Ruſſel's own ſhip diſabled the Riſing Sun, a ſhip of one

enemy. King James, who was a ſpectator of this diſaſter, from the neighbouring ſhore, ſaw all his hopes at once ſwallowed up.

This was the firſt check which had been given to the power of Lewis XIV. at ſea. Seignelai, who after the death of Colbert, his father, had continued to improve the French navy, died himſelf in 1690. Pontchartain, who had been raiſed from the place of firſt preſident of Brittany, to that of ſecretary for the marine department, did not ſuffer it to decay under his juriſdiction. The ſame ſpirit ſtill continued in the adminiſtration. France had as many ſhips at ſea after the fatal blow at La Hogue as ſhe had before; for Tourville commanded a fleet of ſixty ſhips of the line, and D'Etrée one of thirty, excluſive of thoſe which were in harbour; and not above four years afterwards (in 1696,) the king fitted out another armament, ſtill more conſiderable than any of the former ones, to tranſport James over to England, at the head of twenty thouſand French; but this fleet only made its appearance on the coaſt; for the meaſures of James's party in London were as ill concerted as thoſe of his protector were well laid in France.

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one hundred and four guns, commanded by Tourville in perſon. She was burned by ſir Ralph Delaval, near Cherburg, together with the Admirable, another firſt rate, and the Conquerant, of eighty guns. Eighteen other great ſhips of the French fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by ſir George Rooke, who deſtroyed them, and a great number of tranſports loaden with ammunition, in the midſt of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in ſight of the Iriſh camp.

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The dethroned king's party had now no hopes left but in hatching plots againſt the life of his rival; and almoſt all thoſe who were concerned in theſe attempts ſuffered by the hands of the executioner: beſides, it is more than probable, that had they ſucceeded, he would never have recovered his kingdom. He paſſed the remainder of his days at St. Germain, where he lived on Lewis's bounty, and a penſion of ſeventy thouſand Francs *, which he was mean ſpirited enough to receive privately from his daughter Mary, who had been acceſſory in dethroning him. He died at St. Germain in the year 1700. Some Iriſh jeſuits pretended to aſſert that miracles were performed at his tomb †. They even talked at Rome of canonizing after his death a prince whom they had abandoned when living.

Few princes were more unhappy than James's, nor have we an example in hiſtory of a family for ſo long a time unfortunate. The firſt of the kings of Scotland, his anceſtors, who bore the name of James, after having been detained for eighteen years a priſoner in England, was murdered, together with his queen ‡, by his own ſubjects. James II. the ſon of this prince, was killed in battle, againſt the Engliſh, at nineteen years of age ‖. James III. after being impriſoned by his ſubjects, was ſlain by the rebels in fight. James IV. fell in a battle which he loſt. Mary Stuart, his grand-daughter, after

* About three thouſand ſterling, per ann.

† They even carried the farce ſo far as to pretend that his reliefs cured the biſhop of Autun of a fiſtula.

‡ His wife was wounded, but recovered.

‖ James II. was killed by accident at Roxburgh.

being

being driven from her throne, and forced to take refuge in England, where ſhe languiſhed eighteen years in priſon, was at length condemned to die by Engliſh judges, and loſt her head on a ſcaffold: Charles I. grand-ſon to this Mary, and king of England and Scotland, was ſold by the Scots, ſentenced to death by the Engliſh, and executed publicly as a traitor. His ſon James, the ſubject of this chapter, was driven from three kingdoms, and, to crown the misfortunes of the family, even the birth of his ſon was diſputed. This ſon, by the efforts he made to recover the throne of his fathers, brought many of his friends to an untimely end; and of late days we have ſeen prince Charles Edward, in whom the virtues of his anceſtors, and the valour of king John Sobieſki, his grandfather, by the mother's ſide, were in vain united, performing exploits, and ſuffering calamities almoſt beyond the reach of credit. If any thing can juſtify thoſe who believe in an unavoidable fatality, it muſt be the continued ſeries of misfortunes which have befel the family of the Stuarts for upwards of three hundred years.

CHAP. CLXXIX.

Of what paſſed on the Continent, while WILLIAM III. was invading ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, till the year 1697. The burning of the PALATINATE. Victories of the marechals CATINAT and LUXEMBOURG.

NOT having been willing to break in upon the chain of affairs in England in the preceding chapter, I now return to what paſſed on the continent.

While Lewis was thus forming ſuch a maritime force as had never been exceeded by any ſtate, he had to make head againſt the emperor and princes of the empire, Spain, the two maritime powers of England and Holland, become both more formidable under one chief, Savoy, and almoſt all Italy. One ſuch an enemy as England and Spain, would have been ſufficient in former times to have ruined France; and yet all of them united could not now make any impreſſion upon her. The king had almoſt conſtantly five different armies on foot during the courſe of this war; ſometimes ſix, but never leſs than four. The armies in Germany and Flanders frequently amounted to one hundred thouſand effective men. The frontier places were at the ſame time provided with garriſons. Lewis had four hundred and fifty thouſand men in arms, including the marine troops. The Turkiſh empire, ſo powerful in Europe, never had ſo great a number; and even the Roman empire had not more; nor were there ever

ever ſo many wars carried on at a time: Thoſe who blame Lewis XIV. for having made himſelf ſo many enemies cannot but admire the meaſures which he took to defend himſelf; and even to be beforehand with his enemies.

Theſe had not as yet entirely declared themſelves, nor were they all united. The prince of Orange had not yet ſailed from the Texel, upon his expedition againſt his father-in-law, when France had armies upon the frontiers of Holland, and on the borders of the Rhine. The king had ſent his ſon, the dauphin, who was called Monſeigneur, into Germany, with an army of twenty thouſand men This prince was gentle in his manners, modeſt in his deportment, and ſeemed greatly to reſemble his mother. He was then twenty-ſeven years old, and this was the firſt time he had been intruſted with a command, after his behaviour had given ſufficient proofs that he would not make an ill uſe of his power. The king ſpoke to him in public thus, at his departure. "My ſon, in ſending you to command my armies, I give you an opportunity of making your merit known: go and diſplay it to all Europe, that when I depart this life it may not be perceived that the king is dead."

The prince had a ſpecial commiſſion for this command, as if he had been only a private general, whom the king had made choice of. The king's letters were directed, "To our ſon the Dauphin, our lieutenant-general, commanding our armies in Germany."

Every thing had been ſo ordered and diſpoſed before hand, that the ſon of Lewis XIV. who aſſiſted in this expedition with his name and preſence,

preſence, might not be liable to meet with an affront. The marſhal de Duras had in fact the command of the army. Boufflers had a body of troops on this ſide the Rhine, and marſhal d'Humieres another near Cologne, to watch the motions of the enemy. Heidelberg and Mentz were taken: the ſiege of Philipſburg, which is always the firſt ſtep to be taken, when the French make war in Germany, was already begun, under the inſpection of Vauban. Such matters as were not in his deportment fell to the ſhare of Catinat, then lieutenant-general, a man capable of every thing, and formed for all exploits. Monſeigneur arrived ſix days after the trenches had been opened. He exactly obſerved his father's conduct, expoſing his perſon as much as was neceſſary, but never raſhly; treating every one with affability, and extending his liberality even to the private ſoldier. The king felt a ſincere joy in having a ſon who thus imitated, without exceeding him, and who made himſelf beloved by every one, without giving his father any occaſion to fear him.

Nov. 11, 1688 Philipſburg was taken in nineteen days, and Manheim in three, Frankendal ſurrendered in two; and Spires, Triers, Worms, and Oppenheim, threw open their gates at the firſt approach of the French.

The king had reſolved to make a deſert of the Palatinate as ſoon as thoſe towns were taken. His deſign in this was rather to cut off all means of ſubſiſtence from the enemy, than to take vengeance on the elector, whoſe only crime was that of having done his duty, in joining with the reſt of Germany againſt

France. An order came to the army from the king, ſigned Louvois, to reduce the whole country to aſhes. The French generals were then obliged to obey; and though it was in the very midſt of winter, cauſed notice to be ſent to the inhabitants of all theſe flouriſhing towns, and the villages round about, and to the maſters of above fifty caſtles, to quit their dwellings; and that they were going to deſtroy every thing with fire and ſword. Upon this dreadful ſummons, men, women, old people, and children, hurried out in the utmoſt haſte: ſome of whom wandered up and down the fields, and the reſt took refuge in neighbouring countries, while the ſoldiery, who always exceed commands of rigour, and ſeldom or never execute thoſe of clemency, burnt and pillaged their country. They began with Manheim, the reſidence of the electors, whoſe palaces they levelled with the ground, as well as the private houſes of the citizens; broke open their very tombs, thinking to ſatisfy their avarice with the immenſe treaſures they expected to find there, and ſcattered their aſhes abroad. This was the ſecond time that this beautiful country had been laid waſte by Lewis's orders; but the burning of two cities and twenty villages by Turenne was but a ſpark in compariſon of this conflagration. All Europe was ſtruck with horror at this action. The very officers who executed it were aſhamed of being the inſtruments of ſuch cruelty. The blame was thrown upon the marquis of Louvois, who had contracted that inſenſibility of heart which ariſes from a long adminiſtration. He was certainly the perſon who adviſed this proceeding; but

but Lewis had it in his power to reject or follow his counſel. Had the king been a witneſs to this ſpectacle, he would have ran in perſon to extinguiſh the flames. From his palace in Verſailles, where he was ſurrounded by pleaſures, he ſigned the deſtruction of a whole country, becauſe he there beheld only his own glory and the fatal right of conqueſt in the order he gave; but had he been nearer to the ſpot, he would have ſeen all the horror of it. The nations, who till then had only blamed his ambition, and admired his other qualifications, now cried out againſt his cruelty, and even condemned his politics: for had his enemies penetrated into his dominions, as he did into theirs, they would have ſet all the cities in his kingdom on fire.

Nor was this a very remote danger: Lewis, in covering his frontiers with one hundred thouſand ſoldiers, taught Germany to make the ſame efforts. This country, being better peopled than France, may be able to raiſe larger armies. They have more difficulty indeed in raiſing, getting together, and paying them, and they are longer before they take the field; but their ſtrict diſcipline and patience under fatigues, make them at the end of a campaign as formidable as the French are at the beginning. The army of the empire was commanded by the duke of Lorrain, Charles V. This prince, who was ſtill kept out of his dominions by Lewis XIV. had preſerved the empire for Leopold, and given him the victory over the Turks and Hungarians. He now came with the elector of Brandenburg, to put a check to the ſucceſs of the French king's arms. He retook

Bonn and Mentz, two towns which were very badly fortified, but defended in a manner which was eſteemed a model for the future defence of places. Bonn did not ſurrender till after a ſiege of near four months, and that the baron d'Asfeld who commanded there, was mortally wounded in a general aſſault.

The marquis d'Uxelles, afterwards marſhal of France, a moſt prudent and wary general, had made ſuch excellent diſpoſitions for the defence of Mentz, that his garriſon ſuffered hardly any fatigue in the great ſervice it performed: beſides the care he took to provide for the ſafety of the place, he made one and twenty ſallies upon the enemy, and killed upwards of five thouſand of their men. He ſometimes made one or two ſallies in open day-light: in ſhort, he maintained the place for ſeven weeks, and ſurrendered at length only for want of powder. This vigorous defence deſerves a place in hiſtory, both on account of its own merit, and the approbation it met with from the world. Paris, that immenſe city, whoſe indolent inhabitants pretend to judge of every thing, and who have ſo many ears and tongues, with ſo few eyes, looked upon d'Uxelles as a timorous man, and deficient in judgment. When this great commander, on whom every good officer will beſtow a juſt praiſe, after his return from the campaign, went to the play-houſe, the populace hooted him, and cried out Mentz! Upon which he was obliged to retire, not without heartily contemning, as every wiſe man muſt do, a people who are ſuch bad judges of merit, and whoſe praiſe, nevertheleſs, is ſo greedily ſought after.

June, 1689 About the ſame time, marſhal d'Humieres was beat at Walcourt*, on the Sambre, in the Netherlands, by the prince of Waldeck; but this check, though it hurt his reputation, very little affected the French arms. Louvois, whoſe creature and friend he was, found himſelf under the neceſſity of taking from him the command of this army, which was conferred on marſhal Luxembourg, whom neither the king nor Louvois liked; but their regard for the ſtate got the better of their averſion to the man, and they made uſe of his ſervices, though with ſome repugnance. He was therefore appointed commander in the Netherlands. Louvois was remarkable for correcting a too haſty choice, or for making a good one. Catinat was ſent with a command into Italy. Marſhal de Lorges defended himſelf every where in Germany. The duke of Noailles had ſome little ſucceſs in Catalonia†; but under Luxembourg in Flanders, and Catinat in Italy, there was a continual ſucceſſion of victories.

* The prince of Waldeck, who commanded the Dutch army, was reinforced by eleven thouſand Engliſh, under the earl of Marlborough. Marechal d'Humieres attacked the foragers at Walcourt, and an obſtinate engagement enſuing, was obliged to retreat in confuſion, with the loſs of two thouſand men, and ſome pieces of artillery. Mean while, a little army of obſervation, commanded by the prince de Vaudemont, levelled part of the French lines on the ſide of Courtray, and raiſed contributions in the territories of France.

† His ſucceſs in that country was but ſmall. He had indeed reduced Campredon in the month of May; but he was afterwards obliged to withdraw the garriſon, diſmantle the place, and retreat to the frontiers of France with great precipitation.

Theſe

Theſe two generals were at that time eſteemed the greateſt in Europe.

The marſhal duke of Luxembourg, in ſome parts of his character, reſembled the great Condé, whoſe pupil he was in the art of war. He had a fiery genius, a prompt execution, a quick diſcernment, a mind greedy of knowledge; but too extenſive and irregular: he was continually engaged in female intrigues, always in love, and frequently beloved, though deformed and ill-favoured, and had more of the qualifications of a hero than a wiſe man.

*Catinat had an application and activity in his diſpoſition, that made him capable of every thing, though he never piqued himſelf upon any one particular qualification. He would have been equally as good a miniſter and chancellor as he was a general. In the earlier part of his life he followed the law; but quitted that profeſſion at the age of twenty-three, becauſe he loſt a cauſe in which he had juſtice on his ſide. He then took up arms, and was at firſt an enſign in the French guards. In the year 1667, at the attack of the counterſcarp of Lille, he performed an action in the preſence of the king, which required both underſtanding and courage. The king took notice of him, and this was the beginning of his good fortune. He roſe by degrees, without making any in-

* We may perceive, by madame de Maintenon's letters, that ſhe was no friend to marſhal Catinat. She appears to have a very indifferent opinion of him, and calls his modeſty pride. It would ſeem, that the little knowledge which this lady had of men and buſineſs, and the bad choices ſhe made, contributed not a little to the misfortunes which afterwards befel France.

tereſt: he was a philoſopher in the midſt of war and grandeur, thoſe two fatal rocks to moderation; exempt from all kind of prejudice, without the affectation of appearing to deſpiſe them too much; and an utter ſtranger to gallantry, and the arts of courts, but a ſincere friend, and an honeſt man. He lived a profeſſed foe both to intereſt and vain glory, and was equally the philoſopher in all reſpects at the hour of his death, as through the courſe of his life.

Catinat commanded at that time in Italy, where he was oppoſed by Victor Amedeus, duke of Savoy; who was then a wiſe, politic, and ſtill more unfortunate prince: a warrior of remarkable courage, who always led his own armies, and expoſed his perſon like a common man: no one better underſtood that deceitful kind of war which is carried on in a mountainous and uneven country, ſuch as his was: he was active, vigilant, a lover of order, but ſometimes guilty of errors, both as a prince and a general. He is ſaid to have committed an eſſential one in the bad manner in which he drew up his army in preſence of that of Catinat. The French general took advantage of his miſtake, and gained a complete victory over him, in ſight of Saluces, near the abbey of Staffarola, from which that battle took its name. When there are a number of men killed on one ſide, and hardly any on the other, it is a certain proof that the army which is beaten, was drawn up on a ground where it muſt neceſſarily be overpowered. The French had only three hundred men killed, and the allied army, commanded by the duke of Savoy, upwards of four thouſand.

After

After this battle, all Savoy, except Monmelian, ſubmitted to the king. Catinat then marched into Piedmont, forced the enemy's entrenchments near Suſa; took 1691
that town, together with Villafranca, Montalban, Nice, deemed impregnable, Veillano, and Carmagnole, and returned afterwards to Monmelian, of which he made himſelf maſter after an obſtinate ſiege.

After all theſe ſucceſſes the miniſtry leſſened the army which he commanded, and the duke of Savoy augmented his. Catinat, inferior in numbers to his conquered enemy, remained a long time upon the defenſive; but at length having received a reinforcement, he deſcended the Alps, near Marſeilles, and there gained a ſecond pitched battle, which Oct. 4 1693
was the more glorious, as prince Eugene of Savoy was then one of the enemy's generals *.

At the other extremity of France, towards the Netherlands, marſhal Luxembourg gained the battle of Fleurus, and by the confeſſion of all the officers, this victory was entirely owing to the ſuperiority of genius in the French ge-

* In this battle the duke of Schomberg, ſon to him who fell at the Boyne, was mortally wounded, fighting gloriouſly at the head of a body of Vaudois in the pay of Great Britain. In the preceding campaign, Catinat had been obliged to abandon Piedmont, when the duke of Savoy penetrated into Dauphiné, and filled all the ſouth of France with conſternation. Had he proſecuted his ſucceſs, he might have reduced Lyons, and all the towns in that neighbourhood: but he was ſeized with the ſmall pox, and ſuppoſed to be ſoothed into forbearance by the intrigues of the French miniſtry.

neral over prince Waldeck, who then commanded the allied army. Eight thouſand men taken priſoners, ſix thouſand killed, two hundred ſtand of colours, almoſt all the cannon and baggage, and the flight of the enemy, were ſufficient proofs of the victory †.

King William was juſt returned back from his victory over his father-in-law. This great genius, ever fertile in reſources, made more advantage of the defeat of his party than the French often did of their victories. He had been obliged to have recourſe to intrigues and negociations, to procure men and money ſufficient to oppoſe to a king who had only to ſay, "I will." Nevertheleſs, after the defeat at Fleurus, he came to meet marſhal Luxembourg with an army as ſtrong as that of the French.

Sept. 19, 1691

They each conſiſted of about eighty thouſand men; but the marſhal had already inveſted Mons, when William thought the French had hardly left their winter-quarters. Lewis himſelf came to be preſent at the ſiege, and entered the town the ninth day after opening the trenches, in ſight of the enemy's army. After that he returned to Verſailles, and left Luxembourg to diſpute the field during the whole campaign, which ended with the battle of Leige, a very extraordinary action,

April, 1691

† This victory, got by a great ſuperiority of number, was dearly purchaſed. The Dutch infantry fought with ſurpriſing reſolution. The duke of Luxembourg owned with ſurpriſe, that they had ſurpaſſed the Spaniſh foot at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck, (ſaid he,) ought always to remember the French horſe; and I ſhall never forget the Dutch infantry."

in

in which twenty-eight ſquadrons of the king's houſhold troops and the gendarmerie, defeated ſeventy-five ſquadrons of the enemy's army. Sept. 19, 1691

The king next repaired to the ſiege of Namur, the ſtrongeſt place in the Netherlands, both by its ſituation, which is at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maeſe, and by its citadel, which is built on rocks. He took the town in eight days time, and the caſtles in twenty-two, while the duke of Luxembourg prevented king William from paſſing the Mehaigne, at the head of eighty thouſand men, to raiſe the ſiege. After this conqueſt Lewis returned again to Verſailles, and Luxembourg ſtill continued to make head againſt the enemy's force. Now it was that the battle of Steinkirk was fought, ſo famous for the art and courage diſplayed therein. A ſpy, which the French king had ſent to watch the motions of king William, was diſcovered, and compelled, before he was led to execution, to write a falſe information to marſhal Luxembourg, who, immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, made ſuch diſpoſitions as muſt neceſſarily bring on a battle. His army was attacked at day-break, while every one was aſleep in their tents, and one entire brigade cut in pieces before the general knew any thing of the matter. Without the extremeſt diligence and bravery, all would have been loſt. June, 1692

It was not enough to be a great general to prevent a total defeat; it likewiſe required well diſciplined troops, capable of rallying in an inſtant, general officers ſufficiently ſkilful to recover theſe troops from the diſorder into which

they were thrown, and willing to do their duty; for a ſingle officer of rank who had a mind to take advantage of the general confuſion to cauſe his general's defeat, might eaſily have done it without expoſing himſelf to a detection.

The marſhal was then ill, a fatal circumſtance, at a time when uncommon activity was required; but the greatneſs of the danger reſtored him to his ſtrength: it was neceſſary to perform prodigies not to be overcome, and he performed them; he changed his ground, gave a field of battle to his army which before had none, recovered the right wing, which was all in confuſion, rallied his men three times, and three times charged at the head of the houſhold troops, and all this in leſs than two hours. He had with him in his army the duke of Chartres, afterwards regent of the kingdom, a grandſon of France, who was then not above fifteen years old. He could be of no ſervice in ſtriking a deciſive blow; but it contributed not a little to animate the ſoldiers, when they ſaw a grandſon of France charging at the head of the king's houſhold troops, and, though wounded in the fight, returning again to the charge.

Aug. 3, 1692

A grandſon and grand-nephew of the great Condé both ſerved in this army as lieutenant-generals; one of theſe was Lewis of Bourbon, called Monſieur the duke, and the other Armand prince of Conti, both rivals in courage, wit, ambition, and fame. Monſieur was of a more auſtere diſpoſition, and had perhaps more ſolid qualifications, and the prince of Conti more brilliant ones. Being both called by the public

public voice to the command of armies, they earneſtly longed for that honour, which, however, they never obtained; becauſe Lewis, who was as well acquainted with their ambition as their merit, always remembered that the prince of Condé had made war againſt him.

The prince of Conti was the firſt who recovered the army from its confuſion, by rallying ſome of the brigades, and making the reſt advance. Monſieur did juſt the ſame, without ſtanding in need of emulation. The duke of Vendôme, grandſon to Henry IV. was likewiſe a lieutenant-general in this army; he had ſerved ever ſince he was twelve years of age, and though he was then upwards of forty, he had never yet commanded in chief. His brother the grand prior was by his ſide.

It was neceſſary that all theſe princes ſhould put themſelves at the head of the king's houſhold troops, in order to drive a body of Engliſh from an advantageous poſt, on which the ſucceſs of the battle depended. The French houſhold troops and the Engliſh were the beſt troops in the world. The ſlaughter was great; but the French, animated by the croud of princes and young noblemen who fought about the general's perſon, at length carried the poſt; and when the Engliſh were defeated *, the reſt were obliged to yield.

Bouflers,

* The prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded the attack on the ſide of the allies, with a body of Britiſh, Daniſh, and Dutch troops, finding himſelf in danger of being overpowered by numbers, ſent an aid de camp twice to demand ſuccours of count Solmes, who headed the center: but that officer derided his diſtreſs, ſaying, "Let us ſee

Bouflers, who was afterwards marſhal of France, flew with a body of dragoons from a place where he was, at ſome diſtance from the field of battle, and his arrival completed the victory. King William, after having loſt about ſeven thouſand men, retired in as good order as he had attacked; and always beaten, and always formidable, he ſtill kept the field. This victory, which was owing to the valour of the young princes and the flower of the nobility of the kingdom, produced an effect at court, in the city, and in the provinces, that no former victory had ever done.

Monſieur the duke, the prince of Conti, M. de Vendôme, and their friends, on their return home from this campaign, found the roads lined with people, whoſe acclamations and expreſſions of joy were carried even to a degree of madneſs. The women all ſtrove to attract their regards. The men at that time wore lace cravats, which took up ſome time and pains to adjuſt. The princes having dreſſed themſelves in a hurry, threw theſe cravats negligently about their necks. The ladies wore handkerchiefs made in this faſhion, which they called Steinkirks. Every new toy was a Steinkirk. Any young man who happened to have been preſent at this battle, was looked upon with delight. The populace followed the princes every where in crouds, and they were the more beloved, becauſe the court did not ſhew them favour equal to their reputation and merit.

what ſport theſe Engliſh bull-dogs will make." In this battle, the earl of Angus, general Mackay, ſir John Lamer, ſir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant Britiſh officers, loſt their lives.

The

The enſuing campaign the ſame general, the ſame princes, with the ſame troops, who had been ſurpriſed and yet victorious at Steinkirk, made a forced march of ſeven leagues, and came unawares upon William at Nervinde, and beat him. Nervinde is a village near the Layette, a few leagues diſtance from Bruſſels. William had time to put his army in order of battle. Luxembourg and the princes carried the village ſword in hand two different times, and the inſtant the marſhal turned another way, the enemy retook it again; at length the general and the princes carried it a third time, and the battle was won. Few actions proved more bloody. There were about twenty thouſand killed on both ſides; the allies loſt twelve thouſand, and the French eight. On this occaſion, it was ſaid there was more room to ſing *De profundis* *, than *Te Deum*. July 29, 1693

Theſe numerous victories were productive of much glory, but few great advantages. The allies, though defeated at Fleurus, Steinkirk, and Nervinde, had never been completly beaten; king William always made fine retreats; and, in a fortnight's time after one battle, it was neceſſary to fight another with him to be maſter of the campaign. The cathedral of Paris was filled with colours taken from the enemy. The

* A hymn ſung in the funeral-ſervice in the Roman-catholic churches.

* This action the Engliſh diſtinguiſh by the name of the battle of Landen. King William made great efforts of courage and perſeverance; but his original diſpoſition was ſo erroneous, that as ſoon as Luxembourg ſaw it, he cried, "Now I believe Waldeck is really dead."

prince of Conti called marſhal Luxembourg "the Upholſterer of Notre Dame." Nothing was talked of but victories, and yet Lewis XIV. had formerly conquered one half of Holland and Flanders, and all the Franche-Comté, without fighting a ſingle battle; whereas now, after the greateſt efforts and the moſt bloody victories, they could hardly force an entrance into the United Provinces; they could not even lay ſiege to Bruſſels.

Sept. 1 and 2, 1692 Marſhal de Lorges had likewiſe on his ſide gained a conſiderable advantage over the allies near Spirebach, and had even taken the old duke of Wirtemberg priſoner, and penetrated into his country; but, after having invaded it as a conqueror, he was obliged to quit it again. Monſeigneur took and plundered the city of Heidelberg a ſecond time, which the enemy had retaken, and after all was obliged to act upon the defenſive againſt the Imperialiſts.

Marſhal Catinat, notwithſtanding his great victory at Stafarde, and having conquered Savoy, could not prevent the duke of that country from making an irruption into Dauphiné, nor, after his victory at Marſeilles, could he ſave the important city of Caſal.

In Spain the marſhal de Noailles gained a May 27, 1694 battle on the banks of the Ter; he took Girone and ſome ſmall places; but his army was weak, and he was obliged, after his victory, to retire from before Barcelona. The French, every where victorious, and weakened by their ſucceſſes, had an hydra to engage in the allies, that was continually riſing up afreſh. France began to find it

it difficult to raiſe recruits, and ſtill more ſo to procure money. The rigour of the ſeaſon, by which the fruits of the earth were at that time wholly deſtroyed, brought on a famine. Numbers periſhed for want, while the whole kingdom reſounded with *Te Deums* and rejoicings. The ſpirit of confidence and ſuperiority, which had been the ſoul of the French troops, began viſibly to diminiſh. Lewis XIV. no longer appeared at their head, Louvois was dead, and Barbeſieux, his ſon, was generally diſliked by them. To crown all, the death of marſhal Luxembourg, under whom they thought themſelves invincible, ſeemed to put an end to the rapid victories of the French. 1691 January, 1695

The art of bombarding towns with ſhips now turned upon its inventors; not that the engine called *Infernal*, with which the Engliſh attempted to burn St. Malo, and that failed of ſucceſs, was of French invention; machines of this kind had been for a long time of uſe in Europe. It was the art of throwing bombs with as much certainty from a moving veſſel as from the ſolid ground, that the French invented; and it was by this art, that the Engliſh had from their ſhips bombarded the towns of Dieppe, Havre-de-grace, St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Calais; Dieppe, as being the moſt eaſy of acceſs, was the place which ſuffered the moſt real damage. This town, which is now ſo delightful on account of the regularity of its buildings, and that ſeems to owe its beauty to its misfortunes, was almoſt reduced to aſhes. There were not above twenty houſes beaten down and burnt in Havre de Grace; July 1694, and 1695.

Grace; but the fortifications of the place were entirely deſtroyed. In this ſenſe it is that the medal ſtruck by the Dutch is true, notwithſtanding that ſo many French writers have inveighed againſt its falſity. In the exergue we find theſe words in Latin: *The harbour of Havre burnt and deſtroyed*, &c. this inſcription does not tell us that the town was burnt; that would have been falſe; it only ſays that the harbour was burnt, which is true.

Soon afterwards the French loſt Namur, which they had taken. The nation had laviſhed encomiums on Lewis XIV. for having conquered this place; and the moſt indecent ſallies had been thrown out againſt king William for not having ſuccoured it with an army of eighty thouſand men. William at length became maſter of it, by the ſame manner in which it had been loſt. He attacked it in the face of an army much ſtronger than his own was at the time that Lewis XIV. laid ſiege to it. He now met with new fortifications of Vauban's raiſing. The French garriſon which defended this town was an army of itſelf; for while they were preparing matters to inveſt it, marſhal Bouflers found means to throw himſelf into it with ſeven regiments of dragoons; ſo that Namur was not only defended by ſixteen thouſand men, but was daily in expectation of being relieved by an army of an hundred thouſand.

Marſhal Bouflers had a great ſhare of merit, was an active and diligent general, and a good citizen, who had nothing ſo much at heart as the welfare of the ſervice, to promote which he valued neither his pains nor his life. The marquis

marquis de Feuquieres, in his memoirs, accuſes him of ſeveral faults in the defence of the town and citadel, and even blames his conduct in the defence of Liſle, by which he gained ſo much honour. Thoſe who have written the hiſtory of Lewis XIV. have ſervilely copied the Marquis de Feuquieres in military matters, and the abbé de Choiſi in private anecdotes. They could not know that Feuquieres, who was an excellent officer, and perfectly well verſed both in the theory and practice of war, was of a diſpoſition as moroſe as diſcerning, and ſometimes the Ariſtarchus, ſometimes the Zoilus of generals. He alters facts, to have the pleaſure of cenſuring; he complains of every one, and every one of him; he was eſteemed the braveſt man in Europe, becauſe he ſlept quietly in the midſt of an hundred thouſand of his enemies. His merit not having been rewarded with the ſtaff of marſhal of France, he employed his great parts too much againſt the ſervants of the ſtate, which would have been extremely uſeful, had he been as mild and charitable as he was diſcerning, diligent, and bold.

He charged the marſhal de Villeroi with a greater number of faults, and thoſe more eſſential than even Bouflers. Villeroi, at the head of twenty thouſand men, was to have relieved Namur; but even had the two marſhals, Villeroi and Bouflers, done every thing, generally ſpeaking, that they might have done, (which is very ſeldom the caſe) the ſituation of the ground was ſuch, that Namur could not be relieved, and muſt be taken ſooner or later. An army of obſervation poſted along the banks of the Mehaigne had prevented king William from bringing

bringing up his ſuccours; the ſame thing now neceſſarily happened to marſhal Villeroi.

Tho' marſhal Bouflers, the count de Guiſcard, governor of the town, the count de Laumont du Châtelet, commandant of the infantry; and all the officers and ſoldiers in the place, defended it with remarkable obſtinacy and bravery, it retarded the capitulation only two days. When a town is beſieged by a ſuperior army, when the works are well carried on, and the ſeaſon favourable, they can judge nearly within what time it will be taken, be the defence ever ſo vigorous. King William made himſelf maſter of the town and citadel at length, though not in ſo ſhort a time as Lewis XIV.

Sept. 1695

The king, while he was thus loſing Namur, bombarded Bruſſels; a poor revenge, which he took of the emperor for his towns which had been bombarded by the Engliſh; all this occaſioned a war equally ruinous and fatal to both parties.

One of the effects of human induſtry and fury, for theſe two centuries paſt, has been that of not confining the havock of war to our own continent of Europe. We drain ourſelves of men and money, to carry deſtruction againſt each other in the farther parts of Aſia and America. The Indians, whom we have compelled by force or artifice to admit our ſettlements amongſt them, and the Americans, from whom we have wreſted their continent, after having dyed it with their blood, look upon us as the foes of human kind, who came from the fartheſt part of the globe to butcher them, and afterwards to deſtroy one another.

The

The French had no other colony in the Eaſt Indies but that of Pondicherry, which had been formed by Colbert with great pains, and at an immenſe expence, and from whence no conſiderable advantage could be drawn for ſeveral years; the Dutch eaſily made themſelves maſters of it, and thus deſtroyed the trade of the French in the Eaſt-Indies, almoſt in its infancy.

Our plantations in St. Domingo were deſtroyed by the Engliſh, and one of the Breſt privateers laid waſte theirs at Gambia, on the coaſt of Africa. The privateers of St. Malo carried fire and ſword into the eaſtern part of Newfoundland, of which they were in poſſeſſion; and our ſquadrons inſulted their iſland of Jamaica, took and burnt their ſhipping there, and ravaged the coaſt. 1695

Pointis, commander of a ſquadron of ſhips of war and ſome privateers off America, ſailed as far as the line, and ſurpriſed the town of Carthagena, the magazine and ſtaple for the Spaniſh treaſures, which come from Mexico; the damage he did there was computed at twenty millions of our livres, and the booty he got at about half that ſum. There is always ſome deduction to be made from ſuch calculations, but little or none from the grievous calamities occaſioned by theſe glorious expeditions. 1695 May, 1697

The French privateers, and eſpecially Duguétrouin, were every day making prizes of the Engliſh and Dutch merchant-ſhips. This man was very extraordinary in his way, and wanted only a numerous fleet to have acquired as great reputation as Dragut or Barbaroſſa. The enemy made leſs rich prizes from the French, because

cauſe they had leſs to be taken. Our trade was greatly impaired by the death of Colbert and the war.

A general miſery then was the reſult of theſe expeditions by ſea and land. Thoſe who delight more in humanity than politics, will readily obſerve, that in this war Lewis XIV. took up arms againſt his brother-in-law the king of Spain, againſt the elector of Bavaria, to whoſe ſiſter he had married his ſon the dauphin, and againſt the elector-palatine, whoſe country he burnt, though his brother was married to the princeſs-palatine. King James likewiſe was driven from his throne by his ſon-in-law and his own daughter; and ſince that time we have ſeen the duke of Savoy in league againſt France, where he had one daughter a dauphineſs, and againſt Spain, where another was queen. Moſt of the wars between Chriſtian princes are, in ſome ſort, civil wars.

The moſt criminal enterpriſe in all this war proved the only truly fortunate one; William was perfectly ſucceſsful in England and Ireland; in other places the ſucceſſes were more equal. When I call this a criminal undertaking, I do not examine whether the nation, after having ſhed the blood of the father, were right or wrong in baniſhing the ſon, and maintaining its religion and privileges; I only ſay, that if there is any juſtice on earth, the daughter and ſon-in-law of king James ought not to have driven him from his throne and kingdom.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXXX.

Treaty with SAVOY. Marriage of the Duke of BURGUNDY. Peace of RYSWICK. State of FRANCE and EUROPE. Death and laſt will of CHARLES II. King of SPAIN.

FRANCE ſtill maintained her ſuperiority over all her enemies; ſome ſhe had cruſhed, as the duke of Savoy and the elector-palatine, and ſhe carried the war to the frontiers of the others, like a powerful and robuſt body, fatigued with a long reſiſtance, and exhauſted by its victories; a well directed blow would have made her ſtagger. Whoever has a number of enemies at once can at laſt find his ſafety only in their diviſion, or in a peace. Lewis XIV. obtained both the one and the other.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, was a prince of all others the moſt eaſily perſuaded to break his engagements, when his intereſt was concerned; to him the court of France addreſſed itſelf. The count de Teſſé, afterwards marſhal of France, an amiable and able man, of a genius formed for pleaſing, which is the firſt qualification of a negociator, had began a private treaty at Turin; and marſhal Catinat, who was equally capable of making peace and war, put the finiſhing hand to the affair. There did not want two ſuch able men to determine the duke of Savoy to accept of what was to his advantage; they reſtored him his country, gave him a ſum of money, and propoſed a marriage between the young duke of Burgundy, ſon to Monſeigneur, the heir to the crown of France, and

and his daughter. Matters were ſoon agreed upon: the duke and Catinat concluded the treaty at Our Lady of Loretto, whither they went under pretence of a pilgrimage of devotion, which however impoſed upon no one. The pope (who was then Innocent XIV.) entered heartily into this negociation. His view was to deliver Italy at once from the invaſions of the French, and the taxes which the emperor was continually levying to pay his troops. It was thought neceſſary that the Imperialiſts ſhould evacuate Italy, and leave it neuter; this the duke of Savoy engaged himſelf by the treaty to obſerve. The emperor gave a flat denial at firſt; for the court of Vienna rarely came to a determination, but at the laſt extremity. Upon the emperor's refuſal, the duke joined his troops to the French army; and, from generaliſſimo to the emperor, became, in leſs than a month, generaliſſimo to Lewis XIV. His daughter, who was only eleven years of age, was carried into France to be married to the duke of Burgundy, who was thirteen. After the falling off of the duke of Savoy, it happened, as at the peace of Nimeguen, that each of the allies thought proper to treat. The emperor agreed to leave Italy neuter. The Dutch propoſed the caſtle of Ryſwick, near the Hague, as the place for holding the conferences for a general peace. Four armies, which the king had on foot, contributed not a little to bring matters to a ſpeedy concluſion. There were eighty thouſand men in Flanders under Villeroi; the marſhal de Choiſeul had forty thouſand men on the banks of the Rhine; Catinat had another army in Pied-

July, 1696

1627

Piedmont; and the duke of Vendome, who had at length attained the rank of general, after having paſſed through all the degrees, from that of the king's guard, like a private ſoldier of fortune, commanded a body of troops in Catalonia, where he gained a battle, and took Barcelona. Theſe new efforts and ſucceſſes proved the moſt effectual mediation. The court of Rome offered its arbitration, which was refuſed, as at Nimeguen. Charles XI. king of Sweden was the mediator. At length the peace was concluded; no longer with that haughty ſuperiority and advantageous conditions, which had diſtinguiſhed the greatneſs of Lewis XIV. but with a condeſcenſion and conceſſion of rights on his ſide, that equally amazed the French and the allies. It was a long time believed that this peace had been concerted with the deepeſt policy. Sept. Oct. 1697

It was pretended that the French king's grand deſign was, what it certainly ought to have been, to prevent the entire ſucceſſion of the vaſt Spaniſh monarchy from devolving upon the other branch of the houſe of Auſtria. It is ſaid he entertained hopes that the houſe of Bourbon might at leaſt come in for a ſhare in the diſmemberment, and perhaps one day ſucceed to the whole. The formal renunciations made by his wife and mother ſeemed no other than trivial agreements, which ought to give way to new conjunctures. In this view, to aggrandize the houſe of France, it was neceſſary to ſhew ſome moderation towards Europe; not to incenſe ſo many powers, who were ſtill full of ſuſpicions. The peace gave him time to form new

new alliances, ſettle the finances, gain over thoſe whom he had occaſion for, and to form new bodies of militia in the kingdom. It was neceſſary to give up ſomething, in hopes of obtaining much more.

Theſe were thought to be the private motives of the peace of Ryſwick, which in the event actually procured the throne of Spain for the grandſon of Lewis XIV. This notion, probable as it may appear, is not however true; neither Lewis XIV. nor his council had thoſe views that they ought to have had in this affair. It is a ſtrong example of the connection of the revolutions in this world, which govern men, by whom they ſeem to be conducted. The obvious intereſt of quickly poſſeſſing Spain, or at leaſt a part of that monarchy, had not the leaſt influence in the peace of Ryſwick; this is acknowledged by the marquis de Torci, in his manuſcript memoirs. They made peace merely becauſe they were weary of the war, and this war itſelf had been carried on without any particular object; at leaſt on the ſide of the allies: it was only from the idle deſire of humbling the greatneſs of Lewis; and in that monarch it was merely the conſequence of that ſame greatneſs which would not hearken to conceſſions. King William had drawn over to his cauſe the emperor, the empire, Spain, the United Provinces, and Savoy; Lewis XIV. found himſelf too far engaged to recede. The fineſt part of Europe had been laid waſte, becauſe the French king made uſe of the advantages he gained by the peace of Nimeguen in too haughty a manner. The league was formed rather againſt his perſon than the kingdom of France; the king thought

thought himſelf ſecure of the reputation he had gained by arms, and was now deſirous of adding that of moderation: the weakneſs which began to be ſenſibly felt in the finances made him more ready to adopt ſuch a conduct.

The political affairs were debated in the king's council, and the reſolutions taken there: the marquis de Torci, then young, was only charged with the execution of them. The whole council was for peace, eſpecially the duke of Beauvilliers, who ſet forth the miſeries of the people with ſuch energy, that madame de Maintenon was affected by it, and the king himſelf appeared not inſenſible; and it made the more impreſſion, as they had fallen from that flouriſhing ſtate to which the miniſter Colbert had raiſed the kingdom. The great eſtabliſhments of all kinds had coſt immenſe ſums, and no oeconomy had been uſed to retrieve the confuſion occaſioned by theſe extraordinary expences. This inward calamity aſtoniſhed every one, becauſe it had never been felt ſince Lewis XIV. had governed alone: theſe were the true cauſes of the peace of Ryſwick, though doubtleſs ſome virtuous ſentiments had an influence in it. Thoſe who think that kings and miniſters inceſſantly, and without bounds, ſacrifice every thing to their ambition, are no leſs miſtaken, than he who thinks they continually ſacrifice to worldly happineſs.

The king then reſtored to the Spaniards all thoſe places near the Pyrenees that he had taken from them, and likewiſe the conqueſts he had made in Flanders during the laſt war, as Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, and Courtrai.

He

He acknowledged William III. lawful king of England, whom he had till then treated as prince of Orange, a tyrant, and an uſurper. He promiſed not to aſſiſt his enemies for the future; and king James, whoſe name was left out in the treaty, remained at St. Germain with the empty title of king, and a penſion from Lewis XIV. Thus ſacrificed by his protector to the neceſſity of the times, and already forgotten in Europe, he ceaſed to publiſh any new manifeſtos.

The ſentences which the courts of Briſac and Metz had awarded againſt ſo many ſovereigns, and the reunions made at Alſace, thoſe monuments of a dangerous power and pride, were aboliſhed, and the bailiwicks that had been ſeized upon by form of law were reſtored to their right maſters.

Beſides theſe conceſſions, Friburg, Briſac, Kheil, and Philipſburg, were reſtored to the empire; the king even ſubmitted to deſtroy the fortreſs of Straſburg on the Rhine, Fort-Lewis, Traerbach, and Mount-Royal, works on which the great Vauban had exhauſted his art, and the king his treaſury. Europe was ſurpriſed, and the French diſpleaſed, to ſee Lewis XIV. make peace as if he had been conquered. Harlai, Creci, and Callieres, who ſigned this peace, durſt not ſhew themſelves either at court or in the city; they were loaded with reproaches and deriſion, as if they had taken a ſingle ſtep they had not been ordered by the miniſtry; they were reproached by the court with having betrayed the honour of the French nation, and afterwards they were applauded for having, by this treaty, prepared the way for the ſucceſſion

to

to the Spaniſh monarchy: but in truth, they deſerved neither cenſure nor praiſe.

It was by this peace, that France at length reſtored Lorraine to the family which had been in poſſeſſion of it for above ſeven hundred years. Duke Charles V. the prop of the empire, and conqueror of the Turks, was dead; his ſon Leopold, at the peace of Ryſwick, took poſſeſſion of his ſovereignty, with the loſs indeed of his real privileges, it not being allowed him to have ramparts to his capital; but they could not deprive him of a much more noble privilege, that of doing good to his ſubjects; a privilege which no prince ever made a better uſe of than himſelf.

It were to be wiſhed, that lateſt poſterity may be informed, that one of the leaſt powerful ſovereigns in Europe, was him who did the moſt good to his people. He found Lorraine a deſert waſte; he repeopled and enriched it, and preſerved it in peace, while the reſt of Europe was deſolated by war. He had always the prudence to keep well with France, and to make himſelf beloved in the empire; happily preſerving that juſt medium, which hardly any prince, without power, has ever been able to maintain between two great potentates. He procured his people plenty, to which they had been long ſtrangers; his nobleſſe, reduced to the laſt degree of wretchedneſs, were raiſed to a ſtate of opulence, ſolely by his benefactions. If he ſaw the family-ſeat of a gentleman in ruins, he rebuilt it at his own expence; he paid their debts, portioned out their daughters, and laviſhed preſents with that art of giving, which raiſes them even above benefactions; beſtowing

his gifts with the magnificence of a prince, and the politeneſs of a friend. The arts, which were held in the higheſt honour throughout his little province, produced a new circulation, which makes the riches of a ſtate. His court was formed after the model of that of France, and the traveller hardly perceived a change of place in going to Luneville from Verſailles. After the example of Lewis XIV. he advanced the belles lettres; he eſtabliſhed a kind of univerſity, without pedantry, at Luneville, where the young German nobility went to be formed. The true ſciences were there taught in ſchools, where the theory of natural philoſophy was demonſtrated to the eye by the moſt curious apparatus. He ſought out men of talents even in the ſhops and in the woods, brought them to light, and was himſelf their patron and rewarder. In a word, the whole buſineſs of his reign was to procure his nation tranquillity, riches, knowlege, and pleaſure; "I would quit my ſovereignty to-morrow, (ſaid he) if I could no longer do good." Accordingly he taſted the ſatisfaction of being believed, and I myſelf ſaw, long after his death, his ſubjects ſhed tears in mentioning his name. When he died he left an example to be followed by the greateſt kings; but he could not, during his life, be inſtrumental in preparing the way for his ſon to the throne of the empire.

At the time that Lewis XIV. was managing the affair of the peace of Ryſwick, which was to give him the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, the throne of Poland became vacant. This was the only regal crown, then elective, in the world; natives and foreigners had equally a right to

pretend

pretend to it, but to retain it required either a merit ſufficiently ſtriking, and properly ſupported by intrigues, to engage the ſuffrages, (as was the caſe with John Sobieſki the late king) or elſe, money enough to buy the kingdom, which is almoſt always put up at auction.

The abbé, afterwards cardinal Polignac, had at firſt the art to engage the ſuffrages in favour of the prince of Conti, known by the valiant actions he had performed at Steinkirk and Nervinde. He had never the command in chief, nor was he admitted into the king's councils. The duke of Bourbon had an equal reputation as a warior, the duke of Vendome a ſtill greater, and yet his fame ſurpaſſed that of all others, by the great art of pleaſing, and making himſelf of conſequence, which no one poſſeſſed in a more eminent degree than himſelf. Polignac, whoſe talent lay in perſuaſion, determined the minds of the people in his favour; and, by dint of eloquence and promiſes, counterbalanced the money which Auguſtus elector of Saxony, laviſhed among them. Lewis-Francis, prince of Conti, was elected king by the majority of the nation, and proclaimed by the primate of the kingdom. Auguſtus was elected two hours afterwards by another party, inferior in numbers; but he was a ſovereign prince, and powerful, and had a body of troops in readineſs on the frontiers of Poland. The prince of Conti was abſent, deſtitute of money, men, and power, and had nothing on his ſide but his name, and cardinal de Polignac. It remained that Lewis XIV. ſhould either prevent his accepting the crown, or furniſh him with proper

June 17, 1697

aſſiſtance to get the better of his competitor. It was thought that the French miniſtry did too much in ſending the prince of Conti over, and too little in furniſhing him with only a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips and a few bills of exchange, with which he arrived in the road of Dantzick: this was acting with that lukewarm policy, which begins an affair only to quit it again. They would not even receive the prince at Dantzick, and his bills of exchange were proteſted. The intrigues of the pope and the emperor, and the money and troops of Saxony, had already ſecured the crown on his rival's head; he returned then with the glory of having been choſen king, and France had the mortification of having made it appear, that ſhe was not ſufficiently powerful to make a king of Poland.

This diſgrace, which befel the prince of Conti, did not interrupt the peace which ſubſiſted between the Chriſtian powers in the North. The South of Europe was ſoon afterwards reſtored to its tranquillity by the peace of Ryſwick.

There was no longer any war but that which the Turks carried on againſt Germany, Poland, Venice, and Ruſſia; and here the Chriſtians, though under a bad adminiſtration, and divided among themſelves, had the ſuperiority. The battle of Zanta, in which prince Eu-
1695 gene beat the grand ſeignior in perſon, and remarkable by the deaths of the grand vizir, ſeventeen baſhaws, and upwards of twenty thouſand Turks who fell there, humbled the Ottoman pride, and brought about the peace of Car-

Carlowitz, in which the Turks ſubmitted to the laws impoſed by the conquerors. 1699
The Venetians had the Morea, the Muſcovites Aſoph, the Poles Kaminiek, and the emperor Tranſilvania. All Chriſtendom was then happy and tranquil, the ſound of war was no longer heard, either in Aſia or Africa, and the whole world was at peace during the two laſt years of the ſeventeenth century, an epocha, alas! of too ſhort a duration.

The public calamities were ſoon awakened again. The peace of the North was diſturbed in the year 1700, by two men the moſt extraordinary the world ever produced: one was czar Peter Alexowitz, emperor of Ruſſia, the other young Charles XII. king of Sweden. Czar Peter, though born a barbarian, became a great man, and by his genius and ſurpriſing labours, was the reformer, or rather founder of his empire. Charles XII. more courageous than the czar, and yet leſs ſerviceable to his ſubjects, formed to command ſoldiers but not nations, was the firſt hero of his age, but died with the character of an imprudent king. The deſolation the North underwent during a war of eighteen years, owed its riſe to the ambitious politics of the czar and the kings of Denmark and Poland, who wanted to take advantage of the youth of Charles XII. to ſtrip him of a part of his dominions; but Charles, at the age of ſixteen, conquered all three. He 1700
was the terror of the world, and was already eſteemed a hero, at an age in which other men have hardly finiſhed their ſtudies. He was for nine years the moſt formidable monarch in

the world, and for nine years the moſt miſerable.

The troubles of the South of Europe aroſe from another cauſe. The king of Spain lay at the point of death, and it was in diſpute who ſhould ſhare the ſpoils he was to leave behind him. The powers, who already devoured in imagination this immenſe ſucceſſion, did, on this occaſion, what we frequently ſee practiſed during the illneſs of a rich old man who has no children; the wife, the relations, the prieſts of the ſick king, and even the officers appointed to receive the laſt commands of thoſe who are dying, beſet him on all ſides to get a favourable word from him. Some of the inheritors agree to divide the ſpoils, and others prepare to diſpute them.

Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold were in the ſame degree of conſanguinity; they were both grandſons to Philip III. and both had married daughters of Philip IV. therefore Monſeigneur the dauphin, the king's ſon, and Joſeph king of the Romans, ſon to the emperor, were doubly in the ſame degree. The right of eldership was in the houſe of France, the king and Monſeigneur being ſons of the elder daughters: but the Imperial houſe reckoned as rights, firſt the formal renunciation to the crown of Spain, made and ratified by Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. with the name of Auſtria; the blood of Maximilian, from whence Leopold and Charles II. were deſcended; the almoſt perpetual union which had ſubſiſted between the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria; the ſtill more conſtant hatred of thoſe two branches againſt the Bourbons;

bons; the averſion which the Spaniſh nation had at that time to the French; and laſtly, the ſecret ſprings of the policy which governed the Spaniſh council.

Nothing at that time ſeemed more natural than to perpetuate the throne of Spain in the houſe of Auſtria; all Europe expected this before the peace of Ryſwick, but the weakneſs of Charles II. had diſturbed this order of ſucceſſion in the year 1696, and the Auſtrian houſe had been already ſacrificed in ſecret. The king of Spain had a grand-nephew, ſon to Maximilian Mary, elector of Bavaria; the king's mother, who was ſtill living, was great-grandmother to this young prince of Bavaria, who was then about four years old; and this princeſs, notwithſtanding that ſhe herſelf was of the houſe of Auſtria, being daughter of the emperor Ferdinand III. prevailed on her ſon to diſinherit the Imperial family, in conſequence of a pique ſhe had entertained againſt the court of Vienna. She therefore caſt her eyes on the prince of Bavaria, though hardly out of his cradle, and deſtined him to the Spaniſh monarchy, and that of the new world. Charles II. who was then entirely governed by her *, made a private will in the year 1696, in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria; but having afterwards loſt his mother, he was governed by his wife Mariana, of Bavaria Newbourg. This Bavarian princeſs, who was ſiſter-in-law to the emperor Leopold, had as great an attachment to the houſe of Auſtria, as the Auſtrian queen-mother had to that

* See de Torcy's memoirs, Vol. I. page 15.

of Bavaria. Thus the natural courſe of things was all along inverted in this affair, which concerned the moſt extenſive monarchy in the world. Mariana of Bavaria procured that will to be deſtroyed, by which the young prince of Bavaria was called to the ſucceſſion, and obtained a promiſe from the king, that he would never have any other heir than a ſon of the emperor Leopold, and would not name the houſe of Auſtria. Matters were on this footing at the peace of Ryſwick. The kings of France and Auſtria were equally fearful and ſuſpicious of each other, and had likewiſe Europe to fear. England and Holland, two powerful ſtates, whoſe intereſt it was to maintain the balance of power between crowned heads, would never ſuffer, that the ſame head which wore the crown of Spain, ſhould likewiſe wear that of France or the empire*.

It is not poſitively known who it was that firſt conceived the notion of making the premature, and unheard of partition of the Spaniſh monarchy, during the life-time of Charles II. Moſt probably it was the miniſter Torci, for it was him who firſt opened it to Bentinck earl of Portland, ambaſſador from William III. to Lewis XIV.

1698 King William entered with great alacrity into this new project; and, in concert with the count de Tallard at the Hague, diſpoſed of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. To the young prince of Bavaria they gave Spain and the Eaſt-Indies, without knowing that

* The reigning emperor is the ſon of this Leopold.

Charle

Charles II. had before that bequeathed to him all his dominions. The dauphin, ſon of Lewis XIV. was to have Naples, Sicily, and the province of Guipuſcoa, together with ſome few towns. The archduke Charles, ſecond ſon to the emperor Leopold, had only the dutchy of Milan given him, and nothing was alotted for the archduke Joſeph, Leopold's eldeſt ſon, and heir to the empire.

The deſtiny of a part of Europe, and the half of America, thus ſettled, Lewis promiſed by this treaty of partition, to renounce the entire ſucceſſion to the Spaniſh dominions; the dauphin promiſed and ſigned the ſame thing. France thought to make an addition to its territories; England and Holland had in view to ſettle the peace of a part of Europe; but all theſe politics were vain. The dying king being informed in what manner they were tearing his monarchy in pieces during his life-time, was filled with indignation. It was generally expected, that upon hearing this news, he would declare either the emperor or one of his ſons his ſucceſſor, as a reward for his not having intermeddled in this ſhameful partition; and that he would make ſuch a will as the houſe of Auſtria ſhould dictate to him. He did indeed make a will, but he, a ſecond time, declared the prince of Bavaria ſole heir to his dominions. The Spaniſh nation, who dreaded nothing ſo much as the diſmembering of its monarchy, applauded the diſpoſition the king had made, which ſeemed calculated to bring about a peace. This hope likewiſe proved as vain as the treaty of partition. The Nov. 1698

prince of Bavaria, the intended king, died at Bruſſels *.

The houſe of Auſtria was unjuſtly charged with the ſudden death of this prince, merely from the probability that thoſe will be guilty of crimes, to whom crimes are uſeful; and new intrigues began to be revived again at the courts of Madrid, Vienna, Verſailles, London, the Hague, and Rome.

Lewis XIV. king William, and the ſtates-general, diſpoſed once more of the Spaniſh monarchy in idea, and aſſigned to arch-duke Charles, the emperor's youngeſt ſon, that part which they had before given to the infant, lately dead.

March, 1706

They gave Milan to the duke of Lorraine, and Lorraine, ſo often invaded, and ſo often reſtored again by France, was to be annexed to it for ever. This treaty, which ſet the politics of all the princes at work, to thwart or ſupport it, proved as uſeleſs as the firſt.

* The author of the hiſtory of Lewis XIV. had mentioned the moſt of theſe particulars, then new and very intereſting, a long time before the memoirs of the marquis de Torcy made their appearance; and theſe memoirs have at length confirmed all the facts alledged in this hiſtory.

The ſcandalous reports which were propagated on the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, are no longer repeated by writers of any authority. In the pretended memoirs of Mad. de Maintenon, Tom V. pag. 6, we meet with theſe words; "The court of Vienna, which had always been tainted with Machiavelian maxims, and was ſuſpected of employing poiſoners to retrieve the miſtakes of its miniſters." It would ſeem by this expreſſion, that the court of Vienna had always kept poiſoners in a kind of office, the ſame as their huſſars and dragoons. We think it our duty to take notice of ſuch indecent expreſſions, and contradict ſuch calumnies.

Europe

Europe was again deceived in its attempt, as almoſt always happens.

When this treaty of partition was offered to the emperor to ſign, he refuſed, becauſe he was in hopes of having the intire ſucceſſion. The French king, who had ſtrongly preſſed the ſigning it, waited in uncertainty for the event.

The king of Spain, who ſaw himſelf at the point of death, in the flower of his age, was for beſtowing all his dominions on the archduke Charles, his queen's nephew, and ſecond ſon to the emperor Leopold: he did not dare to leave them to the eldeſt ſon, ſo prevalent was the ſyſtem of a balance of power in all minds, and ſo certain was it, that the apprehenſion of ſeeing Spain, the Indies, the empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, in the ſame hands, was about to arm all Europe. Charles II. wanted the emperor Leopold to ſend his ſecond ſon Charles to Madrid, at the head of ten thouſand men; but neither France, England, the ſtates-general, nor Italy, would have permitted ſuch a ſtep to be taken at that time; every one was for the partition. The emperor would not ſend his ſon alone, to be at the mercy of the Spaniſh council, and he could not tranſport ten thouſand men thither: he only wanted to march troops into Italy, to ſecure that part of the Auſtrian-Spaniſh monarchy. There now happened in the moſt important of concerns between two great princes, what happens every day between private perſons in the moſt trifling affairs: they diſputed, they grew warm; the Caſtilian haughtineſs was offended by the German pride. The counteſs of Perlitz, who governed the wife of the dying

king, alienated the minds of thoſe in Madrid, whom ſhe ought to have won over, and the court of Vienna diſguſted them ſtill more by its haughtineſs.

The young archduke, who was afterwards the emperor Charles VI. uſed never to mention the Spaniards but with ſome opprobrious appellation. He then experienced how incumbent it is on princes to weigh all their words. The biſhop of Lerida, who was ambaſſador from the court of Madrid to that of Vienna, on ſome occaſion of diſlike againſt the Germans, collected theſe expreſſions, and tranſmitted them with exaggerations to his court in his diſpatches, and even treated the Auſtrian council more injuriouſly in his letters, than the archduke had done the Spaniards by his ſpeeches. "Leopold's miniſters, ſaid he, have underſtandings like the horns of the goats in my country, ſmall, hard, and crooked." This letter was made public. The biſhop of Lerida was recalled, and at his return to Madrid he doubly encreaſed the averſion which his countrymen had to the Germans.

While the Auſtrian party made itſelf thus hated by the court of Madrid, the marquis, after marſhal duke of Harcourt, the French ambaſſador, gained all hearts by his prodigious magnificence, his dexterity, and perfect knowledge in the art of pleaſing. He was the firſt who changed into benevolence that antipathy which the Spaniſh nation had nouriſhed againſt the French, ever ſince the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, and by his prudent conduct laid the foundation for that period, when France and Spain renewed the ancient bonds by which they

they were united before the time of that Ferdinand. "Crown with crown, nation with nation, and man with man." He brought the Spaniſh court to have an affection for the houſe of France, its miniſters to be no longer ſtartled at the renunciations made by Maria Thereſa, and Anne of Auſtria, and the king himſelf to waver between his own houſe and that of Bourbon. He was therefore the primum mobile of the greateſt change in the adminiſtration, and the minds of the people in general. But this change was as yet at a conſiderable diſtance. The emperor employed entreaties and threats. The king of France repreſented his rights, but without venturing to aſk the entire ſucceſſion for his grandſon.

The council of Madrid were as yet undetermined which ſide to take, and Charles II. who was every day drawing nearer to his grave, was in equal uncertainty. Leopold in a pique recalled his ambaſſador, the count de Harracah, from Madrid, but ſoon afterwards he ſent him back again, and then the hopes in favour of the houſe of Auſtria were revived. The king of Spain wrote to the emperor that he would chuſe the archduke for his ſucceſſor. Then the French king threatned in his turn, aſſembled an army on the frontiers of Spain, and the marquis of Harcourt was recalled from his embaſſy, to command theſe forces, leaving only an officer of foot at the court of Madrid, who had ſerved as ſecretary to the embaſſy, and now remained in quality of reſident, as de Torci tells us. Thus the dying king, threatned alternately by thoſe who pretended to the ſucceſſion, and plainly perceiving that the hour of his

his death would be that of a bloody war, and that his dominions were on the point of being torn in pieces, drew towards his end comfortleſs, irreſolute, and involved in diſquietudes.

In this violent criſis of affairs, cardinal Portocarrero, archbiſhip of Toledo, the count of Monterey, and others of the Spaniſh grandees, determined to ſave their country, and joined together to prevent the diſmembring of the monarchy. Their hatred to the Auſtrian government added a double weight to reaſons of ſtate in their breaſts, and did the court of France the moſt eſſential ſervice without her knowing it. They perſuaded Charles II. to prefer the grandſon of Lewis XIV. to a prince at ſo great a diſtance from them, and incapable of defending them. This was not an invalidation of the ſolemn renunciations of the Spaniſh crown made by the mother and wife of Lewis XIV. becauſe theſe had been made only to prevent the elder ſons of their deſcendants from uniting the two kingdoms under one rule; and here it was an elder ſon that was choſen. It was at the ſame time doing juſtice to the rights of blood, and preſerving the Spaniſh monarchy from a partition. The ſcrupulous king cauſed all his divines to be conſulted on this head, who were all of opinion with the council; and ill as he was, wrote a letter with his own hand, to pope Innocent XII. propoſing the ſame caſe to him. The pope, who thought the liberty of Italy depended upon the weakning of the houſe of Auſtria, wrote back to the king, "That the laws of Spain, and the good of Chriſtendom required of him to give the preference to the houſe of France." This letter

of

of the pope's was dated July 16, 1700. He treated this caſe of conſcience propoſed by a ſovereign, as an affair of ſtate; while the king of Spain made a caſe of conſcience of an important affair of ſtate.

Lewis XIV. was informed of theſe diſpoſitions by cardinal de Janſon, who then reſided at Rome, and this was all the ſhare that the court of Verſailles had in this event. Six months had paſſed without there being any ambaſſador at the court of Madrid. This was perhaps a fault; but perhaps alſo this very fault ſecured the Spaniſh monarchy in the houſe of France. The king of Spain then made his third will, that was for a long time thought to be the only one, and by which he bequeathed all his dominions to the duke of Anjou *.

It was generally thought in Europe that this will of Charles II. had been dictated at Verſailles. The dying king conſulted only the intereſt of his kingdom, and the wiſhes and even fears of his people; for the French king had ordered his troops to advance to the frontiers, in order to ſecure to himſelf a part of the inheritance, at the time the dying king determined to leave him the whole. Nothing is more true than that the reputation of Lewis XIV. and the notion of his power, were the

* Some memoirs tell us that cardinal Portocarrero prevailed on the king to ſign this will when he was dying, and give us a long ſpeech which the prelate made to this monarch, to engage him to comply with his requeſt. But it is eaſily perceived that every thing had been prepared and diſpoſed for this in the month of July preceding. Beſides, who could know what cardinal Portocarrero ſaid to the king when they were in private together?

only

only negotiations that completed this great revolution.

Charles of Auſtria, after having ſigned the ruin of his houſe, and the aggrandizement of that of France, languiſhed about a month longer, when he ended, at the age of thirty-nine, the obſcure life he had led while on the throne. It may perhaps not be altogether uſeleſs towards giving an inſight into the human mind, to mention, that this monarch, a few months before his death, cauſed the tombs of his mother and his firſt wife, Maria-Louiſa of Orleans, to the poiſoning of whom he was ſuſpected to have been privy *, to be opened, and kiſſed the remains of their dead bodies. In this he either followed the example of ſome of the ancient kings of Spain, or was willing to accuſtom himſelf to the horrors of death, or from a ſecret ſuperſtition thought that opening theſe tombs would retard the hour in which he was to be carried to his own.

This prince was from his birth as weak in mind as body; and this weakneſs had ſpread itſelf through his dominions. It is the fate of monarchies to have their proſperity depend upon the diſpoſition of a ſingle man. Charles II. had been brought up in ſuch profound ignorance, that when the French were beſieging Mons, he thought that place had belonged to the king of England. He neither knew whereabouts Flanders lay, nor what place belonged to him there ‡. This king left the duke of

* See the Chapter of anecdotes.

‡ See de Torci's Memoirs, Tom. I. page 12.

Anjou

Anjou all his dominions, without knowing what he had given him.

His will was kept ſo ſecret that the count de Harrac, the emperor's ambaſſador, ſtill flattered himſelf that the archduke would be acknowledged his ſucceſſor. He waited a long time for the iſſue of the great council, which was held immediately upon the king's death; at length ſeeing the duke of Abrantes coming towards him with open arms, he made ſure in that inſtant that the archduke was king, when the duke embracing him, accoſted him thus: *Vengo ad expedir me de la caſa de Auſtria.* "I am come to take my leave of the houſe of Auſtria."

Thus, after two hundred years of war and negociations, for ſome few frontier towns of the Spaniſh dominions, the houſe of France, by the ſingle ſtroke of a pen, was put in poſſeſſion of the whole monarchy, without treaties, without intrigues, and even without having entertained hopes of the ſucceſſion. We thought ourſelves obliged to bring to light the ſimple truth of a fact which has till now been obſcured by ſo many ſtateſmen and hiſtorians, led away by their own prejudices, and by appearances, that are almoſt always fallacious. What we find related in a number of books concerning the ſums of money diſtributed by the marſhal d'Harcourt, and the bribing of the Spaniſh miniſters to get this will ſigned, may be ranked in the number of political lies and popular errors. But the king of Spain, in chuſing for his ſucceſſor the grand-ſon of a king who had ſo long been his enemy, had always in view the conſequences that naturally follow from a notion of a general equilibrium of power. The duke

of

of Anjou, Lewis XIV's grand-ſon, was called to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, only becauſe he could never pretend to the crown of France; and in this very will, by which, in default of younger children of the blood of Lewis XIV. the arch-duke Charles, (afterwards the emperor Charles VI.) is called to the ſucceſſion, it is expreſly declared, that the empire and Spain ſhall never be united under one ſovereign.

Lewis XIV. might ſtill have abided by the treaty of partition, which was profitable for France, or he might have accepted the will, which was to the advantage of his family. This matter was actually in debate in an extraordinary council. The chancellor, Pontchartrain, and the duke of Beauvilliers, were of opinion to abide by the treaty, as foreſeeing the danger of having a new war to ſupport. Lewis ſaw nothing like this; but he was accuſtomed not to fear war. He therefore accepted the will, and as he was coming out of the council, meeting the princeſs of Conti, with madame the dutcheſs; "Well, ſaid he to them ſmiling, on which ſide are you?" and then without giving them time to reply, "Which ſoever ſide I take, added he, I am ſure to be blamed *."

Nov. 11, 1700

The

* Notwithſtanding the juſt contempt in which the pretended memoirs of madame de Maintenon are held throughout France, we think it neceſſary to acquaint ſtrangers that every thing there ſaid relating to this will, is entirely falſe. The author pretends, that when the Spaniſh ambaſſador preſented the will of Charles II. to Lewis, that prince replied, "We ſhall conſider of it." Certainly the king never made ſo extraordinary a reply, ſince by the mar-

The actions of kings, though often extravagantly flattered, are likewiſe liable to the ſevereſt ſtrictures, inſomuch that the king of England himſelf underwent the reproaches of his parliament, and his miniſters were proſecuted for having been concerned in the treaty of partition. The Engliſh, who reaſon better than any other nation, but who frequently ſuffer the rage of party ſpirit to extinguiſh that reaſon, exclaimed unanimouſly both againſt William, who had made this treaty, and againſt Lewis, who had broke it.

Europe at firſt ſeemed loſt in ſurpriſe, and unable to beſtir itſelf when it ſaw the Spaniſh monarchy become ſubject to France, whoſe rival it had been for above three hundred years. Lewis XIV. ſeemed the moſt fortunate and powerful monarch in the world. He ſaw himſelf, at the age of ſixty-two, ſurrounded with a numerous poſterity, and one of his grand-ſons going to rule, under his orders, the kingdom of Spain, America, one half of Italy, and the Low Countries. The emperor as yet could do nothing but complain.

King William, now fifty-two years of age, infirm and feeble, no longer appeared the formidable enemy he had been. He could not make war without the conſent of his parlia-

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marquis de Torci's confeſſion, the Spaniſh ambaſſador had not his audience of Lewis XIV. till after the holding of the council in which the will was accepted.

The miniſter who then reſided in Spain from the French court, was named Blécour, and not Belcour; and the Spaniſh ambaſſador's name was Caſtel dos Rios, and not Rius. The anſwer made by the king to this ambaſſador never had exiſtence but in this idle romance.

ment;

ment; and Lewis had taken care to ſend ſums of money over to England, with a view to purchaſe ſeveral votes in that aſſembly. William, and the Dutch, not being ſtrong enough to declare themſelves, wrote to Philip V. as to the lawful king of Spain. Lewis XIV. was ſure of the elector of Bavaria, father to the young prince, lately deceaſed, who had been appointed king. This elector, who governed the Netherlands in the name of the deceaſed king, Charles II. immediately ſecured the poſſeſſion of Flanders to Philip V. and left a paſſage open for the French army through his electorate to the capital of Germany, in caſe the emperor ſhould venture to declare war. The elector of Cologne, brother to the elector of Bavaria, was as intimately connected with France as his brother, and theſe two princes ſeemed to act with reaſon on their ſide. The party of the houſe of Bourbon was at that time without compariſon the ſtrongeſt. The duke of Savoy, already father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, was going to be the ſame to the king of Spain, and was to have the command of the French forces in Italy. It was hardly imagined then that the father of the dutcheſs of Burgundy and the queen of Spain, would ever make war upon his two ſons-in-law.

The duke of Mantua, who had been ſold to France by his miniſter, now ſold himſelf, and received a French garriſon into Mantua. The dutchy of Milan acknowledged Lewis's grandſon without heſitation; and even Portugal, who was naturally the enemy of Spain, immediately joined with it. In a word, from Gibraltar to Antwerp, and from the Danube to Na-

Naples, all ſeemed to be at the devotion of the Bourbons. The king was ſo elated with his proſperity, that talking with the duke of Rochefoucault one day, on the ſubject of the propoſals which the emperor made him at that time, he expreſſed himſelf thus: "You will find them ſtill more inſolent than you have been told *."

King William, who to the hour of his death continued an enemy to Lewis XIV. promiſed the emperor to arm England and Holland in his cauſe: he likewiſe engaged the court of Denmark in his intereſt: at length he ſigned at the Hague that league which had been already ſet on foot againſt the houſe of France. The king however was not much ſurpriſed at this, and depending upon the diviſions he hoped to cauſe in the Engliſh parliament, by the money he had ſent over, and ſtill more on the united forces of France and Spain, ſeemed to deſpiſe his enemies. Sept. 1701

At this time, king James died at St. Germain. Lewis might on this occaſion have paid what appeared due to decency and good politics, in not too haſtily acknowledging the prince of Wales for king of England, after having already acknowledged William's title by the peace of Ryſwick. He was at firſt determined, from an emotion of pure generoſity, to give the ſon of king James the conſolation of a title and dignity which his unfortunate

* At leaſt this is what we find related by Mr. Dangeau, in his manuſcript memoirs, though they are not always ſtrictly true.

father

had bore till the hour of his death, and which the treaty of Ryſwick did not take from him. The principal miniſters of the council however were all of a different opinion. The duke of Beauvilliers eſpecially, ſet forth, in the moſt eloquent manner, the many ſcourges of war which were likely to be the conſequence of ſo dangerous a magnanimity. This nobleman was governor to the duke of Burgundy, and in every thing thought like that prince's preceptor, the famous archbiſhop of Cambrai, ſo well known by his humane maxims of government, and the preference he gave to the intereſts of the people, over the grandeur of the monarch. The marquis de Torci enforced as a politician what the duke de Beauvilliers had advanced as a citizen. He repreſented how impolitic it was to incenſe the Engliſh nation by ſo raſh a ſtep. Lewis yielded to the opinion of his council, and reſolved not to acknowledge the ſon of James II. as king. The ſame day Mary of Modena, widow to the deceaſed James, went to madame de Maintenon's apartments to ſpeak with Lewis XIV. She found him there, and with a flood of tears conjured him not to treat her ſon, herſelf, and the memory of a king he had protected, with ſo much indignity as to refuſe a title, the only remains of all their former greatneſs. She obſerved, that as her ſon had always received the honours of a prince of Wales, he ought to be treated as king after the death of his father; and that even William himſelf could not complain of this, provided he was left to enjoy his uſurpation. To theſe arguments ſhe added others, which concerned the intereſt and glory of Lewis XIV. She repreſented

ſented to him that whether he acknowledged the ſon of James II. or not, the Engliſh would nevertheleſs declare againſt France; and that he would only feel the vexation of having ſacrificed the moſt noble ſentiments to a fruitleſs precaution. Theſe repreſentations and tears were powerfully ſeconded by madame de Maintenon. The king reſumed his former ſentiments, and the noble reſolution of protecting diſtreſſed kings to the utmoſt of his power. In a word, James III. was acknowledged the ſame day that it had been determined in council not to acknowledge him.

The marquis de Torci has frequently owned this remarkable anecdote; he has not indeed inſerted it in his memoirs, becauſe (as he himſelf obſerves) he thought it was not to the honour of his maſter, to be prevailed upon by two women, to alter a reſolution which had been taken in his council. Some Engliſh gentlemen* have told me, that had it not been for this ſtep, their parliament might not perhaps have taken part againſt the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria; but that this acknowledging as

* Among others, my lord Bolingbroke, who in his memoirs has ſince juſtified all that the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. advances. See his letters, Vol. II. page 56. Mr. de Torci is of the ſame opinion in his memoirs: he ſays, Vol. I. page 164, "The king's reſolution to acknowledge the prince of Wales for king of England, wrought a change in the diſpoſitions which a great part of the nation ſhewed towards preſerving the peace, &c." Lord Bolingbroke ſays, in his letters, that Lewis XIV. acknowledged the pretender "through female importunities." Theſe are ſufficient proofs how induſtriouſly the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. has ſought after the truth, and with what candour he has related it.

their

their king a perſon whom they had baniſhed, appeared an inſult offered to the nation, and an attempt towards exerciſing an abſolute authority over Europe. The ſpirit of freedom which then prevailed among the Engliſh, and that was not a little encreaſed by the hatred they bore to Lewis, on account of his great power, made the nation contribute with chearfulneſs to all the ſupplies which William demanded.

It appears more probable that the Engliſh would have declared war againſt Lewis XIV. even though he had refuſed the empty title of king to the ſon of James II. His grandſon being in poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy ſeemed alone ſufficient to arm all the maritime powers againſt him. A few members of the houſe of commons bribed to favour his cauſe, could never have oppoſed the torrent of the nation. It remains to be decided, whether madam de Maintenon judged better than the French council, and whether Lewis XIV. was in the right to indulge the pride and ſenſibility of his ſoul?

The emperor Leopold firſt began this war in Italy, in the ſpring of the year 1701. Italy has always been the favourite object in all the concerns of the emperors. He knew his arms could more eaſily penetrate here through the Tiroleſe and the Venetian ſtate; for Venice, though neuter in appearance, ſtill inclined more to the houſe of Auſtria than to that of France, and being moreover obliged by treaties to allow a paſſage to the German troops, ſhe found no great difficulty to accompliſh theſe treaties.

The emperor, before he ventured to attack Lewis XIV. on the ſide of Germany, waited till the Germanic body began to ſtir in his favour.

vour. He had good intelligence in the Spaniſh court, and even a party there; but neither of theſe could prove of ſervice without the preſence of one of his ſons, and he could not be tranſported thither but with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets. King William haſtened the neceſſary preparations; his ſoul more active than ever, in a feeble and almoſt lifeleſs body, ſet every thing in motion; not ſo much with a view to ſerve the houſe of Auſtria as to humble Lewis XIV.

He was to have headed the armies himſelf, at the beginning of the year 1702; but death prevented his deſign. A fall from his horſe completed the diſorder of his enfeebled organs, and a ſlight fever carried him off. He died without making any reply to what the Engliſh clergymen * who attended at his bed-ſide ſaid to him in relation to their religion, and ſhewed no concern but for the affairs of Europe. March 16, 1702

He left behind him the character of a great politician though he was never popular, and a formidable general though he had loſt ſo many battles; always circumſpect in his conduct, and ſpirited only in the day of battle; he reigned peaceably in England merely becauſe he did not

* Our author is in this place miſtaken. Inſtead of ſhewing any ſolicitude about the affairs of Europe, he paid little or no attention to the Earl of Albemarle, juſt arrived from Holland, when he explained to him in private the poſture of affairs upon the continent: all the anſwer he made was, *Je vois vers ma fin*, "My life draws near a cloſe." He converſed on ſpiritual matters with archbiſhop Tenniſon and biſhop Burnet, and received the ſacrament with great devotion.

attempt to be abſolute; he was called the Engliſh ſtadtholder and the Dutch king; he underſtood all the European languages, but ſpoke none of them well, as he had a much greater ſhare of reflection than imagination; he affected to hate flatterers and flattery, perhaps becauſe Lewis XIV. ſeemed to take rather too much pleaſure in them. His reputation was of a different kind from that of the French monarch; thoſe who admired moſt the advantage of having acquired a kingdom without any natural right, and of maintaining the rule over a people without being beloved by them; of having governed Holland with all the authority of a ſovereign, without enſlaving it; of having been the ſoul and head of one half of Europe, without poſſeſſing the talents of a general, or the courage of a ſoldier; of never having perſecuted any one on the ſcore of religion; of having a contempt for the ſuperſtitious prejudices of mankind; of having been ſimple and moderate in his manners; ſuch I ſay will doubtleſs give the title of great to William, rather than to Lewis: while thoſe who are more delighted with the pleaſures of a brilliant court, with magnificence, with the protection given to the arts, with a zeal for the public good *, a thirſt for glory, and a talent for reigning, who are more ſtruck with

* In what ſhape Lewis XIV. could be ſaid to be zealous for the public good, we cannot conceive; he whoſe enormous ambition impoveriſhed his kingdom, and reduced his ſubjects to miſery. As to his talent for reigning we ſhall only obſerve, that, after Richelieu had reduced the power of the nobles, and Colbert had enriched the kingdom with commerce, as well as eſtabliſhed the plan of internal police, it was a very eaſy matter to maintain authority and

with the lofty manner in which miniſters and generals added whole provinces to France, only on an order from their king; who are more aſtoniſhed to ſee a ſingle ſtate make head againſt ſo many powers; who have greater eſteem for a king of France that procures the kingdom of Spain for his grandſon, than for a ſon in-law who dethrones his wife's father; in a word, thoſe who admire more the protector than the perſecutor of king James, ſuch will give Lewis the preference.

To William III. ſucceeded the princeſs Anne, daughter to king James by the daughter of Lawyer Hyde, afterwards chancellor and one of the principal men of the kingdom. She was married to the prince of Denmark, who ranked only as the firſt ſubject in the kingdom. As ſoon as ſhe came to the crown, ſhe adopted all the meaſures of her predeceſſor king William, though ſhe had been at open variance with him during his life. Theſe meaſures were thoſe of the nation. In other kingdoms, a prince obliges his people to enter blindly into all his views; but at London a king muſt enter into thoſe of his people *.

The diſpoſitions made by England and Holland for placing, if poſſible, the archduke Charles, ſon to the emperor Leopold, on the throne of Spain, or at leaſt to oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of the Bourbon family, were ſuch as perhaps may be ſaid to merit the attention of all ages.

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and order in a nation of ſlaves, overawed by a ſtanding army of above four hundred thouſand ruffians, inured to blood and rapine.

* Witneſs this and the laſt war upon the continent.

The Dutch on their ſides were to maintain an army of one hundred and two thouſand men in pay, either in garriſon or in the field. This was much more than the vaſt Spaniſh monarchy could furniſh at that time: a province of merchants, who, thirty years before, had been almoſt totally ſubdued in the ſpace of two months, could now do more than the maſters of Spain, Naples, Flanders, Peru, and Mexico. England promiſed to furniſh forty thouſand men. It happens in moſt alliances, that, in the long run, the parties concerned fall ſhort of their promiſed quotas; but England, on the contrary, furniſhed fifty thouſand men the ſecond year inſtead of forty, which ſhe had promiſed; and, in the latter part of the war, ſhe had in pay, on the frontiers of France, in Spain, Italy, Ireland, America, and on board her fleet, upwards of one hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men, ſoldiers and ſailors, partly her own troops, partly thoſe of her allies; an expence which appears almoſt incredible to thoſe who reflect, that England, properly ſo called, is not a third ſo large as France, and has not one half the quantity of coin; but will appear probable in the eyes of thoſe who know what trade and credit can do. The Engliſh always bore the greateſt ſhare of the burthen in this alliance, while the Dutch inſenſibly leſſened theirs; for after all, the republic of the ſtates-general is only an illuſtrious trading company, whereas England is a fruitful country abounding in merchants and ſoldiers.

The emperor was to furniſh eighty thouſand men, excluſive of the ſuccours of the empire, and thoſe allies whom he hoped to detatch from the

the houſe of Bourbon; and yet the grandſon of Lewis XIV. was already ſeated peaceably on his throne at Madrid, and Lewis, at the beginning of the century, was at the zenith of his power and glory: but thoſe who penetrated into the reſources of the ſeveral courts of Europe, and eſpecially that of France, began to fear ſome reverſe. Spain, that had been weakened under the laſt kings of the race of Charles V. was ſtill more feeble during the early part of the reign of the Bourbons. The houſe of Auſtria had partiſans in ſeveral provinces of this monarchy; Catalonia ſeemed ready to ſhake off the new yoke, and acknowledge the archduke Charles. It was impoſſible but that Portugal muſt ſooner or later, ſide with the houſe of Auſtria. It was plainly its intereſt to encourage a civil war among the Spaniards, its natural enemies, that might turn to the advantage of Liſbon. The duke of Savoy, lately become father-in-law to the new king of Spain, and linked to the Bourbons by the ties of blood as well as treaties, ſeemed already diſpleaſed with his ſons-in-law. Fifty thouſand crowns per month, afterwards raiſed to two hundred thouſand franks, did not appear a ſufficiently valuable conſideration to bind him to their intereſt; he wanted at leaſt Montferrat, Mantua, and a part of the dutchy of Milan. The haughty behaviour he met with from the French generals, and from the miniſtry at Verſailles, made him apprehenſive, and not without reaſon, that he ſhould ſoon be held for nothing by his two ſons-in-law, who kept his dominions ſurrounded on every ſide. He had already quitted the emperor for France

without any ceremony; and it ſeemed more than probable, that, finding himſelf ſo little regarded by the latter, he would change ſides the firſt oportunity.

As to the court of Lewis XIV. and his kingdom, nice ſpirits already perceived a change in them, which is only viſible to the groſſer ones when the decline is far advanced. The king, now upwards of ſixty years of age, was grown more retired, and conſequently knew leſs of mankind; he ſaw things at too great a diſtance, and with eyes leſs diſcerning, and dazzled with proſperity. Madame de Maintenon, with all the amiable qualities ſhe was miſtreſs of, had neither the ſtrength, greatneſs, nor courage of mind, requiſite for ſupporting the glory of a ſtate: ſhe was inſtrumental in procuring the management of the finances in 1698, and the department of war in 1701, for her creature Chamillard, who was more of the honeſt man than the miniſter, and had ingratiated himſelf with the king by his diſcreet conduct, when employed at St. Cyr; but, notwithſtanding an outward appearance of modeſty, he had the misfortune to think himſelf capable of bearing two burthens, which Colbert and Louvois had with difficulty ſupported ſeparately. The king, depending upon his own experience, thought that he could ſucceſsfully direct his miniſters; and when Louvois died, he ſaid to king James, "I have loſt a good miniſter, but neither your affairs nor mine ſhall go the worſe for it." When he made choice of Barbeſieux to ſucceed Louvois as ſecretary of war, he ſaid to him, "I formed your father, and will form you." He expreſſed himſelf much in the ſame manner to Chamillard.

millard. A king who had been ſo long engaged in public affairs, and with ſuch great ſucceſs, ſeemed to have a right to talk in this manner.

In regard to the generals whom he employed, they were frequently confined by the ſtrict orders they received from him, like ambaſſadors who muſt not depart from their inſtructions. He and Chamillard directed the operations of the campaign in madame de Maintenon's cloſet. If a general was deſirous of executing any great undertaking, he was frequently obliged to diſpatch a courier to court for permiſſion, who at his return found the opportunity loſt, or the general beaten.

Military rewards and dignities were profuſely laviſhed under Chamillard's adminiſtration; numbers of young perſons, hardly out of their leading-ſtrings, were allowed to purchaſe regiments, which, with the enemy, was the reward of twenty years ſervice. This difference was very ſenſibly felt on many occaſions, in which an experienced officer might have prevented a total rout. The croſſes of the knights of St. Lewis, a reward invented by the king in 1693, and then the object of emulation among the officers, were expoſed to ſale in the beginning of Chamillard's miniſtry, and were to be bought for fifty crowns a-piece, at any of the war-offices. Military diſcipline, the ſoul of ſervice, which had been ſo ſtrictly kept up by Louvois had degenerated into a fatal remiſſneſs; the companies were not complete in their number of men, nor the regiments in their officers. Hence aroſe a defect, which, ſuppoſing an equality in other reſpects, muſt infallibly occaſion the loſs of all their battles; for, to have

an equal extent of front with that of the enemy, they were obliged to oppoſe weak battalions to ſtrong and numerous ones. The magazines were no longer ſo well provided, nor at ſuch convenient diſtances, nor were the arms ſo well tempered as formerly. Thoſe therefore who perceived theſe defects in the adminiſtration, and knew what generals France had to deal with, trembled for her, even in the midſt of thoſe firſt advantages which ſeemed to promiſe her greater ſucceſs than ever* †.

* The compiler of the memoirs of madam de Maintenon ſays, that, towards the end of the foregoing war, the marquis de Nangis, colonel of the king's regiment, told him, that he had no way to ſtop the deſertion of his ſoldiers but by knocking the deſerters on the head. It is worth while to remark, that this marquis de Nangis, afterwards a marſhal, was not colonel of the king's regiment till the year 1711.

The ſame author abuſes the regiment of guards, whom he calls Pierrots: he ſeems not to know how they diſtinguiſhed themſelves at Valcour, Steinkirk, Nervinde, and at almoſt every ſiege. Hiſtory ſhould not be a ſatire againſt any body of men, or private perſons.

† All theſe circumſtances imply, that the former proſperity of Lewis was not owing to his own perſonal talents, but entirely to the great abilities of his old miniſters and generals, who were now no more.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXXXI.

The War of 1701. Conduct of Prince EUGENE, Marſhal VILLEROI, the Duke of VENDOME, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and MARSHAL VILLARS; till the Year 1703.

THE firſt general who put a check to the ſuperiority of the French arms was a Frenchman, for ſo we ſhould call prince Eugene, tho' he was the grandſon of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy: his father, the count de Soiſſons, had ſettled in France, where he was lieutenant-general of the king's armies, and governor of Champagne; and married Olimpia Mancini, one of the nieces of cardinal Mazarin. From this match, ſo unfortunate in other reſpects, was born at Paris this prince, who afterwards proved ſo dangerous an adverſary to Lewis XIV. and was ſo little known to him in his youth. He was known at firſt in France by the name of the Chevalier de Carignan; he afterwards took the petit-collet, and was called the Abbot of Savoy. It is ſaid that he aſked the king for a regiment, which his majeſty refuſed him, on account of his being too much connected with the princes of Conti, who were then in diſgrace. Not being able to ſucceed with Lewis XIV. he went to ſerve the emperor againſt the Turks in Hungary, in 1684, together with the princes of Conti, who had already made a glorious campaign there. The king ſent an order to the princes of Conti, and all thoſe who had accompaned them in this expedition, Oct. 1663

pedition, to return home. The abbot of Savoy was the only one who refuſed to comply with this mandate: he continued his journey, openly declaring that he renounced France for ever. The king when he was told of this, ſaid to his courtiers *, "Don't you think I have had a great loſs?" and theſe gentlemen immediately gave it as their opinion, that the abbot of Savoy would always be a mad-headed fellow, and fit for nothing. They founded their judgments on certain ſallies of youth, by which we are never to judge of men. This prince, who was held in ſo much contempt at the court of France, was born with all the qualifications which form the hero in war, and the great man in peace; he had a juſt and lofty mind, and the neceſſary courage both in the field and the cabinet; he was guilty of faults, as all generals have been, but theſe were loſt in

* See Dangeau's memoirs.

There were at that time ſeveral young lords of the court, who wrote indecent letters to the princes of Conti, in which they were wanting in the reſpect they owed the king, and in complaiſance to Mad. de Maintenon, who was then only a favourite. Theſe letters were intercepted, and the young people in diſgrace for ſome time.

The compiler of the memoirs of Maintenon is the only one who aſſerts that the duke de la Rochaguien, ſaid to his brother, the marquis de Liencourt, "Brother, you deſerve death if your letters are intercepted." In the firſt place, no one deſerves death for having a faulty letter intercepted, but for having wrote it; and in the next place, no one deſerves death for writing a jeſt. It is evident that theſe young lords did not deſerve death, becauſe they were all taken into favour again; all theſe ſuppoſitious ſpeeches, which are ſo lightly repeated in the world, and afterwards collected and publiſhed by obſcure and mercenary writers, are undeſerving of our believe.

the

the number of his great actions. He ſhook the greatneſs of Lewis XIV. and the Ottoman power: he governed the empire; and, in the courſe of his victories and miniſtry, ſhewed an equal contempt for vain-glory and riches. He cheriſhed, and even protected learning, as much as could be done at the court of Vienna. At this time he was about thirty-ſeven years of age, and had the experience of his own victories over the Turks, and the faults which he had ſeen committed by the Imperialiſts in the late wars in which he ſerved againſt France. He entered Italy by the country of Trent, in the territories of Venice, with thirty thouſand men, and full liberty to make ſuch uſe of them as he pleaſed. The court at firſt forbid marſhal Catinat to oppoſe the paſſage of prince Eugene, either becauſe they would not commit the firſt act of hoſtility, which was bad policy when the enemy had already taken up arms, or elſe becauſe they would not diſoblige the Venetians, who were however leſs to be feared than the German army. This firſt miſtake in the court occaſioned marſhal Catinat to commit others. That perſon rarely ſucceeds who follows a plan that is not his own; beſides, we well know how difficult a matter it is, in a country cut through with rivers and ſtreams of water, to prevent a ſkilful enemy from paſſing them. Prince Eugene, to a great depth of ſcheming, added a lively promptitude of execution. From the nature of the ground likewiſe on the banks of the Adigi, the enemy's army was more compact, while that of the French was more extended. Catinat was for marching to meet the enemy; but the lieutenants-general

ſtarted difficulties, and formed cabals againſt him. Inſtead of making them obey him, he gave way; the mildneſs of his diſpoſition led him to commit this great error. Eugene began by forcing the poſt of Carpi, near the White Canal, which was defended by St. Fremont, who neglected the general's orders in ſome reſpects, and occaſioned his own defeat. After this ſucceſs, the German army had the command of all the country, between the Adigi and the Adda, and penetrated into the Breſſan, while Catinat retreated behind the Oglio. Several good officers approved of this retreat, which, in their opinion, was a very prudent one; to which we may further add, that the failure of the proviſions and ammunition promiſed by the miniſtry, rendered it abſolutely neceſſary. The courtiers, and eſpecially thoſe who had hopes of ſucceeding Catinat in the command, repreſented his behaviour as a ſcandal to the French name. Marſhal Villeroi perſuaded them that he could retrieve the honour of the nation; the confidence with which he ſpoke, and the liking the king had to him, procured him the command in Italy; and marſhal Catinat, notwithſtanding his former victories of Staffarde and Marſailles, was obliged to ſerve under him.

July 9, 1701

The marſhal duke de Villeroi was ſon to the king's governor, had been brought up with his royal maſter, and always enjoyed a principal ſhare of his favour: he had been with him in all his campaigns, and made one in all his parties of pleaſure: he was of an agreeable and engaging figure, extremely brave, a very worthy man, a good friend, ſincere in his connec-

tions, and magnificent in all his actions *. But his enemies ſaid he was more taken up, after he came to be general, with the honour and pleaſure of commanding, than with the ſchemes of a great captain, and reproached him with being ſo much wedded to his own opinion, as to ſlight the advice of every one elſe.

He now repaired to Italy, to lord it over Catinat, and diſguſt the duke of Savoy. His behaviour ſhewed, that he thought a favourite of Lewis XIV. at the head of ſo powerful an army was infinitely ſuperior to a prince. He never called the duke by any other name than Monſ. de Savoy, and treated him like a common general in the pay of France, and not like a ſovereign. In a word, the friendſhip of this prince was not regarded ſo much as was neceſſary, conſidering that he was maſter of the barriers which nature has placed between France and Italy. The court thought that fear was the ſureſt knot to bind him; and that a French

* The author, who in his younger days had frequently the honour of ſeeing this nobleman, thinks himſelf authoriſed to declare that the above is his real character. La Baumette, who abuſes both marſhal Villeroi and marſhal Villars, and many others, in his notes on the age of Lewis XIV. ſpeaks thus of the late marſhal duke of Villeroi, page 102, Vol. III. of the memoirs of Mad. de Maintenon, "Villeroi the vain-glorious, who uſed to amuſe the women with ſo eaſy an air, and would aſk his ſervants with ſo much arrogance, "Is there any money put into my pockets?" How can any perſon put into the mouth, I will not ſay of a great nobleman, but even of any well-bred man, words which were ſaid to have been ſpoken by a financier? How can he pretend to talk of ſo many great men of the paſt age, as if he had ſeen them all? Or, how can any one have the aſſurance to commit to writing ſuch falſe and ſcurrilous reflections?

army,

army, ſurrounding about ſix or ſeven thouſand Piedmonteſe, was a ſufficient pledge for his fidelity. Marſhal Villeroi behaved to him as his equal in common correſpondence, and his ſuperior in the command. The duke of Savoy had the empty title of generaliſſimo, but marſhal Villeroi was ſo in fact. He immediately gave orders for attacking prince Eugene in the poſt of Chiari, near the Oglio. The general officers were of opinion, that it was againſt all the rules of war to attack this poſt, for theſe eſſential reaſons; that it was of no conſequence; that the entrenchments were inacceſſible; that nothing could be gained by forcing them, and that, if they failed, the reputation of the whole campaign would be loſt. Villeroi however told the duke of Savoy that he muſt march, and ſent an aid-de-camp to order marſhal Catinat in his name to begin the attack. Catinat made the meſſenger repeat the order to him three different times; then turning towards the officers who were under his command, "Come on then, gentlemen, we muſt obey." They marched directly up to the entrenchments, and the duke of Savoy fought like a perſon who had no ſubject of complaint againſt France. Catinat ſought every where for death; he was wounded, but nevertheleſs, on ſeeing the king's troops repulſed, he made a retreat; after which he quitted the army, and returned to Verſailles, to give an account of his conduct to the king, without complaining of any one.

Sept. 11, 1701

Prince Eugene always maintained his ſuperiority over marſhal Villeroi; at length, in the heart of the winter 1702, one day that the marſhal

marſhal was ſleeping in full ſecurity in Cremona, a pretty ſtrong town, and provided with a very numerous garriſon, he found himſelf awakened with the noiſe of a diſcharge of ſmall arms; upon which he roſe in haſte, mounted his horſe, and the firſt thing he met with was a ſquadron of the enemy. The marſhal is immediately made priſoner and led out of the town, without knowing any thing that had paſſed there, and unable to conceive the cauſe of ſo extraordinary an event. Prince Eugene was already in the town of Cremona; a prieſt called Bozzoli, provoſt of St. Mary la Nova, had introduced the German troops through a common ſewer. Four hundred men having been conveyed through this ſewer into the prieſt's houſe, immediately killed the guard at the two gates, which were flung open, and prince Eugene enters the city with four thouſand men. All this was done before the governor, who was a Spaniard, had the leaſt ſuſpicion, or marſhal Villeroi was awake. The whole affair was conducted with the greateſt ſecrecy, order, and diligence. The Spaniſh governor on the firſt alarm, appeared in the ſtreet with a few ſoldiers, but was preſently ſhot dead with a muſket; all the general officers were either killed or made priſoners, excepting lieutenant-general count de Revel, and the marquis du Prâlin. Chance however confounded the prudent meaſures of prince Eugene. Feb. 2, 1702

It happened that the chevalier d'Entragues was that day to review the regiment of marines, of which he was colonel; the ſoldiers were aſſembled by four o'clock in the morning, in one of the outparts of the city, exactly at the time

that prince Eugene entered at the other part: d'Entragues began to run through the ſtreets with his ſoldiers; he makes head againſt thoſe of the enemy that come in his way, and by this means gives the reſt of the garriſon time to repair thither. The ſtreets and ſquares were now filled with officers and ſoldiers, confuſedly mingled together, ſome with arms, ſome without, and others half naked, without any commander at their head. The fight is begun in the utmoſt confuſion, and they entrench themſelves from ſtreet to ſtreet, and from ſquare to ſquare. Two Iriſh regiments, that made part of the garriſon, checked the efforts of the Imperialiſts. Never was greater prudence ſhewn in the ſurprize of a town, nor more valour in defending it. The garriſon conſiſted of about five thouſand men; prince Eugene had as yet introduced only four thouſand; a large detachment of his army was to have joined them by the bridge over the Po; the meaſures were well concerted, but another ſtroke of chance rendered them all fruitleſs. This bridge, which was guarded only by an hundred French ſoldiers, was to have been ſeized upon by the German cuiraſſiers, who were ordered to go and make themſelves maſters of it, the inſtant prince Eugene entered the town. For this purpoſe, as they came in by the ſouth gate, next to the common ſewer, they were to go out into the country of Cremona at the north part of the city, thro' the Po-gate, and then immediately make the beſt of their way to the bridge. As they were going through the city, the guide who conducted them was killed by a muſket-ſhot from a window; the cuiraſſiers miſtake one

ſtreet

ſtreet for another, and wander out of their way. During this ſmall interval of time, the Iriſh aſſemble at the Po-gate, attack and repulſe the cuiraſſiers; and the marquis du Prâlin, ſeizing this lucky moment, orders the bridge to be broken down; the ſuccours which the enemy expected cannot arrive, and the town is ſaved.

Prince Eugene, after having fought the whole day, and conſtantly keeping poſſeſſion of the gate by which he entered, at length retired, taking with him marſhal Villeroi, and moſt of the general officers priſoners, but diſappointed of taking Cremona, which his activity and prudence, together with the negligence of the generals, had once made him maſter of; and which chance, and the valour of the French and Iriſh troops, had ſnatched from him again.

Marſhal Villeroi, who was extremely unhappy on this occaſion, was condemned by the courtiers at Verſailles, with all the ſeverity and acrimony that his ſhare of the royal favour, and the loftineſs of his character, which was taken by them for vanity, could inſpire. The king, who blamed but did not condemn him, was not a little diſpleaſed to find his choice ſo highly cenſured, and in the heat of his reſentment ſuffered theſe words to eſcape him, "They take a pleaſure in abuſing him, becauſe he is my favourite:" (ſee Dangeau's memoirs) a term that he never before in his life made uſe of in regard to any one. The duke of Vendôme was immediately appointed to go and take the command in Italy.

The duke of Vendôme was grandſon to Henry IV. and, like him, intrepid, mild, beneficent, and humble; a ſtranger to hatred, envy, and

and revenge: he ſhewed pride only among princes, and behaved with equality to every one elſe: he was the only general under whom the common men were not led to fight merely from principles of military duty, and that mechanical inſtinct which obeys the orders of an officer. They fought for the duke of Vendôme; and would have laid down their lives to extricate him out of a falſe ſtep into which his fiery genius ſometimes hurried him. He was thought not to equal prince Eugene in the coolneſs and depth of his deſigns, and the art of ſubſiſting his troops; he was too apt to neglect little matters, and ſuffered military diſcipline to languiſh in his army; he gave too much time to ſleep and the pleaſures of the table, as well as his brother. This over-indulgence put him more than once in danger of being carried off: but in the day of battle he made amends for all theſe faults, by a preſence of mind and diſcernment which ſeemed to grow from danger; theſe opportunities he was continually ſeeking, being not ſo well qualified for a defenſive war as prince Eugene, but fully equal to him in the offenſive.

The ſame diſorder and negligence that he introduced into the army were viſible to a ſurpriſing degree in his houſhold, and even his own perſon. From his great averſion to ſhew or oſtentation he contracted a cynic ſlovenlineſs almoſt unparalleled; and diſintereſtedneſs, the moſt noble of all virtues, became in him a fault, by making him loſe more by careleſſneſs than he would have expended in acts of bounty. He has been often known to want even common neceſſaries. His brother, the grand prior, who com-

commanded under him in Italy, had all his faults, which he carried to a ſtill greater exceſs, and made amends for by the ſame valour. It is ſurpriſing to ſee two generals never riſing from bed till four o'clock in the afternoon, and two princes, grandſons to Henry IV. neglecting their perſons in a manner that the meaneſt ſoldier would have thought ſhameful.

What is ſtill more ſurpriſing, is, that mixture of activity and indolence, with which Vendôme carried on ſo ſmart a war againſt Eugene; a war of artifice, ſurpriſes, marches, croſſing of rivers, petty ſkirmiſhes, often as fruitleſs as bloody; and murderous battles, in which both ſides claimed the victory; ſuch as that of Luzara, for which *Te Deum* was ſung both at Paris and Vienna. Vendôme always came off conqueror, when he had not to deal with prince Eugene in perſon; but as ſoon as that general appeared at the head of his troops, the French had no longer the advantage. Aug. 15, 1701

In the midſt of theſe battles, and the ſieges of ſo many towns and cities, private intelligence was brought to Verſailles, that the duke of Savoy, grandſon to a ſiſter of Lewis XIV. father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and Philip V. was going to quit the Bourbon intereſt, and was actually in treaty with the emperor. Every one was aſtoniſhed that he ſhould, at once leave two ſons-in-law, and give up what appeared to be his true intereſt: but the Emperor had promiſed him all that his ſons-in-law had refuſed him Montferrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the June 5, 1703

the Tanero, with more money than he received from France. The money was to be furniſhed by England, for the emperor had hardly ſufficient to pay his troops. England, the richeſt of all the allies, contributed more than any of them towards the common cauſe. Whether the duke of Savoy ſhewed any regard to the laws of nature and nations? is a queſtion in morality which has very little to do with the conduct of ſovereigns*. The event however proved in the end, that he was not at all wanting to the laws of policy in the treaty he made; but he was wanting in another very eſſential point of politics, in leaving his troops at the mercy of the French, while he was treating with the emperor. The duke of Vendome ordered them to diſarmed; they were indeed no more than five thouſand men, but this was no inconſiderable object to the duke of Savoy.

Aug. 10, 1703

No ſooner had the houſe of Bourbon loſt this ally, when ſhe heard that Portugal had likewiſe declared againſt her. Peter, king of Portugal, acknowleged the archduke Charles for king of Spain. The imperial council, in the name of this archduke, diſmembered, in favour of Peter II. a monarchy, in which he was not as yet maſter of a ſingle town; and, by one of thoſe treaties which are never executed, ceded to him Vigo, Bayonne, Alcantara,

* The law of nations will juſtify any prince in renouncing an alliance, when he finds himſelf ill-treated by his ally. Our author owns that the duke of Savoy was treated with inſolence by the generals of France; and that the advantage of his kingdom was better conſulted in his engagements with the emperor.

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Badajox, a part of Eſtramadura, all the countries lying to the weſt of the river la Plata in America; in a word, he made a partition of what he had not to give, in order to acquire what he might.

The king of Portugal, the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, miniſter to the archduke, and the admiral of Caſtile, his creature, implored the aſſiſtance of the king of Morocco. They not only entered into a treaty with theſe barbarians, ſupplying them with horſes and corn, but they likewiſe aſked for a body of troops. The emperor of Morocco, Muley Iſmael, the moſt warlike and politic tyrant at that time in the Mahometan nation, would not ſend his troops but on ſuch terms as were dangerous to Chriſtendom, and ſhameful to the king of Portugal; he demanded a ſon of that king's as an hoſtage, together with a certain number of towns. The treaty did not take place; and the Chriſtians contented themſelves with tearing each other to pieces with their own hands, without calling in thoſe of barbarians. The aſſiſtance of Africa would not have done the houſe of Auſtria ſo much ſervice as that of England and Holland did.

Churchill, earl, and afterwards duke of Marlborough, was declared general of the confederate armies of England and Holland, in the year 1702. This man proved as fatal to the French greatneſs as any that had appeared for many ages. He was not one of thoſe generals to whom a miniſter delivers the plan of the campaign in writing, and who, after having followed the order he has received from the cabinet, at the head of his army, returns home

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[illegible] the honour of being employed again. He at that time governed the queen of England, both by the occasion she had for his service, and by the authority his wife had over her affections. He had the command of the parliament by his powerful interest, and by that of [illegible] Godolphin, whose son married one of his daughters. Thus having the direction of the court, the parliament, the war, and the treasury, more a king than ever William had been, as great a politician, and a much greater general, he excited the most sanguine hopes of the allies. He possessed in a superior degree to any general of his time, that tranquil courage in the midst of tumult, and serenity of soul in danger, which the English call a cool head. It is perhaps to this qualification, the principal gift in nature for a commander, that the English are indebted for their victories over the French in the fields of Poitiers, Cressy, and Agincourt.

Marlborough, who was indefatigable as a warrior during the campaign, was no less active a negociator in the winter; he went to the Hague, and visited all the courts of Germany; he persuaded the Dutch to drain themselves to humble France; he roused the resentment of the elector-palatine; he flattered the pride of the elector of Brandenburg, who wanted to be king, by holding the napkin to him at table, by which he drew from him a supply of 8000 men. Prince Eugene, on his side, had no sooner finished one campaign, than he went to Vienna to make preparations for another. We may easily judge, whether an army is better supplied, where the general is at the same time the prime minister.

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Theſe two great men, who had ſometimes the command jointly, ſometimes ſeparately, always underſtood each other. They had frequent conferences at the Hague, with the grand penſionary Heinſius and the ſecretary Fagel, who governed the United-Provinces with equal abilities, and better ſucceſs than the Barneveldts and de Witts. They, in concert, continually ſet the ſprings of one half of Europe in play againſt the houſe of Bourbon; and the French miniſtry was at that time much too weak to oppoſe for any length of time thoſe combined forces. The plan of operations for the campaign was always kept an inviolable ſecret. They ſettled their deſigns amongſt themſelves, and did not entruſt them even to thoſe who were to ſecond them, but at the inſtant of execution. Chamillard, on the contrary, being neither a politician, a warrior, nor even acquainted with the management of the revenue, and who yet acted as prime-miniſter, was unable to plan any deſigns of his own; and was therefore obliged to be beholden to inferior people for their aſſiſtance. His ſecret was almoſt always divulged, even before he himſelf knew exactly what was to be done. Of this the marquis de Feuquieres accuſes him with great juſtice; and Mad. de Maintenon acknowleges, in her letters, that ſhe had made choice of a man who was not fit for the miniſtry. This was one of the principal cauſes of the misfortunes which befel France.

Marlborough, as ſoon as he came to the command of the allied army in Flanders, ſhewed that he had learnt the art of war of the great Turenne, under whom he had

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in his younger days made his firſt campaigns as a volunteer. He was then known in the army only by the name of the handſome Engliſhman: but Turenne ſoon perceived that this handſome Engliſhman would one day be a great man. He began his command by raiſing ſeveral ſubaltern officers in whom he had diſcovered merit, and who were till then unknown, without confining himſelf to the order of military rank, which we in France call the order of the *Tableau*. He was ſenſible, that when preferment is only the conſequence of ſeniority, all emulation muſt periſh; and that an officer is not always the moſt ſerviceable for being the moſt ancient. He preſently formed men. He gained ground upon the French without hazarding a battle. Ginkel, earl of Athlone, the Dutch general, diſputed the command with him the firſt month, and, before ſix weeks were at an end, was obliged to yield to him in every reſpect. The king of France ſent his grandſon, the duke of Burgundy againſt him, a wiſe and upright prince, born to make a people happy. The marſhal de Boufflers, a man of indefatigable courage, commanded the army under the young prince. But the duke of Burgundy, after having ſeen ſeveral places taken before his face, and being obliged to retreat by the ſkilful marches of the Engliſh, returned to Verſailles before the campaign was half over, leaving Boufflers to be a witneſs to Marlborough's ſucceſſes, who took Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, and continued advancing without loſing the ſuperiority one inſtant.

When Marlborough returned to London at the cloſe of this campaign, he received all the

the honours that could be beſtowed in a monarchy and a republic. He was created duke by the queen; and, what was ſtill more flattering, he received the thanks of the two houſes of parliament, who ſent deputies to compliment him at his own houſe.

But now there aroſe a perſon who ſeemed likely to reſtore the drooping fortunes of France. This was the marſhal duke de Villars, then lieutenant-general, and whom we have ſince ſeen at the age of eighty-two, commander in chief of the armies of France, Spain, and Sardinia: this man had a great ſhare of boldneſs and confidence, and had himſelf been the architect of his own fortune, by his unwearied perſeverance in the diſcharge of his duty. He ſometimes offended Lewis XIV. and what was ſtill more dangerous, his miniſter Louvois, by ſpeaking to them with the ſame boldneſs with which he ſerved. He was accuſed of not having a modeſty becoming his courage. But at length it was ſeen that he had a genius formed for war, and to command Frenchmen. He had been greatly advanced within a few years, after having been left a long time unnoticed.

Never was there a man whoſe preferment created more jealouſy, and with leſs reaſon. He was marſhal of France, duke, and peer, and governor of Provence: but then he had ſaved the ſtate; and others who had ruined it, or had no other claim but that of being courtiers, had met with as great rewards. He was even upbraided with the riches which he acquired by contributions in the enemy's country, a juſt and reaſonable reward for his valour and conduct; while thoſe who had amaſſed fortunes of

ten times the value, by the moſt ſcandalous methods, continued to enjoy them with the approbation of the public. He did not begin to taſte the ſweets of the reputation he had acquired till he was near eighty; and he muſt have outlived the whole court to have enjoyed it undiſturbed.

It may not be amiſs to acquaint the world with the reaſon of this injuſtice in mankind. It was owing to the want of art in marſhal Villars: he had not enough to make himſelf friends, with integrity and underſtanding; nor to ſet a proper value upon himſelf, by ſpeaking that of himſelf which he deſerved that others ſhould ſay of him.

One day that he was taking leave of the king, he ſaid to him before the whole court, "Sire, I am going to fight againſt your majeſty's enemies, and leave you in the midſt of mine." He ſaid to the courtiers of the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, who were all grown rich by that ſubverſion of the ſtate called ſyſtem, "For my part I never got any thing but by the enemies of my country." Theſe ſpeeches, which were accompanied with the ſame courage as his actions, were too humbling to thoſe who were already ſufficiently incenſed at his good fortune.

At the beginning of the war he was one of the lieutenant-generals who had the command of the detachments in Alſace. His army was at that time in the mountains of Briſgaw, which border upon the Black Foreſt; and this immenſe foreſt ſeparated the elector of Bavaria's army from the French. Catinat, who commanded in Straſburg, had too much circumſpection in

his conduct to think of attacking the prince of Baden at ſuch a diſadvantage; as in caſe of a repulſe the French army muſt infallibly be loſt, and Alſace laid open. Villars, who had reſolved to be marſhal of France, or to die in the attempt, hazarded what Catinat did not dare to undertake. He wrote to court for permiſſion; and then marched towards the Imperialiſts at Friedlengen, with an inferior army, and fought the battle of that name.

The horſe engaged in the plain, the foot climbed up to the top of the hill, and attacked the German infantry, which was entrenched in the woods. I have more than once heard marſhal Villars himſelf ſay, that after the battle was won, and as he was marching at the head of his infantry, a voice was heard crying out, "We are cut off;" upon which the whole body immediately took flight. He directly ran up to them, crying out, "What is the matter, friends? we have gained the victory, God bleſs the king." The ſoldiers, all pale and trembling, repeated, "God bleſs the king," and began to fly as before. He declared that he never met with more difficulty than in rallying the conquerors, and that if only two of the enemy's regiments had ſhewed themſelves at that inſtant of general panic, the French would have been beaten: ſo frequently does the fate of battles depend upon mere chance. Oct. 14, 1702

The prince of Baden, though he loſt three thouſand men, with all his cannon, was driven out of the field of battle, and purſued for two leagues, through woods and defiles, while as a proof of his defeat, the fort of Friedlengen

capitulated. Nevertheleſs, he wrote to the court of Vienna that he had gained the victory, and ordered *Te Deum* to be ſung, which was more ſhameful to him than even the loſs of the battle.

The French, recovered from their pannic, proclaimed Villars marſhal of France on the field of battle; and the king a fortnight afterwards confirmed the title which the ſoldiers had conferred on him.

Marſhal Villars, having afterwards joined the elector of Bavaria with his victorious army, found him likewiſe a conqueror, gaining ground of the enemy, and in poſſeſſion of the imperial city of Ratiſbon, where the aſſembly of the empire had lately vowed his deſtruction.

Villars was better qualified to ſerve his country, when acting only according to his own genius, than in concert with another. He carried, or rather dragged, the elector acroſs the Danube; but no ſooner had they paſſed that river, than the elector began to repent of what he had done, perceiving, that upon the leaſt check, he ſhould be obliged to leave his dominions at the enemy's mercy. The count of Styrum, at the head of near twenty thouſand men, was in march to join the grand army under the prince of Baden, near Donawert. The marſhal told the elector that this muſt be prevented, by marching directly and attacking Styrum. The elector willing to temporize, replied, that he muſt conſult his miniſters and generals upon that head. "Am not I your miniſter and general, anſwered Villars? do you want any other council but me when you are to give battle?" The prince, full

full of the danger which threatened his dominions, ſtill kept back, and even grew angry with the general. "Well then, ſaid Villars, if your electoral highneſs will not embrace this opportunity with your Bavarians, I will begin the battle with the French;" and immediately gave orders for the attack. The prince was incenſed *, and looked upon Villars as a madman, but was obliged to fight againſt his will. This was in the plains of Hochſtet near Donawert.

After the firſt charge there appeared another inſtance of the effect of chance in battles. The enemy's army and that of the French were both ſeized at the ſame time with a pannic, and fled; and marſhal Villars ſaw himſelf left alone for ſome minutes on the field of battle: however, he rallied his troops, led them back to the charge, and gained the victory. Three thouſand of the Impe-rialiſts were left dead on the field, and four thouſand taken priſoners, with their cannon and baggage. The elector made himſelf maſter of Augſburg. The road to Vienna was open, and it was even debated in the emperor's council whether he ſhould quit his capital. Sept. 20, 1703

The emperor was excuſable for his apprehenſions; he was beaten every where. The duke of Burgundy, with the marſhals Tallard and Vauban under him, had juſt taken Old Bri-

* All this may be found in the memoirs of the marſhal de Villars in manuſcript, where I myſelf have ſeen every circumſtance. The firſt volume of theſe memoirs in print are really his, the two others are by another hand, and ſomewhat different.

ſac; and Tallard had not only taken Landau, but had alſo defeated the prince of Heſſe, afterwards king of Sweden, near Spires, as he was attempting to relieve the town. If we believe the marquis de Feuquieres, (a moſt excellent officer and complete judge in the military art, though rather too ſevere in his deciſions,) marſhal Tallard won the battle by a fault and a miſtake. However, he wrote thus to the king from the field of battle.: "Sire, your majeſty's army has taken more ſtandards and colours than it has loſt private men."

In this action there was more execution done by the bayonet than in any other during the war. The French have a ſingular advantage in the uſe of this weapon, on account of their natural impetuoſity; but it is now become more menacing than fatal: the quick and cloſe firing has prevailed in its ſtead. The Engliſh and Germans were accuſtomed to fire in diviſions with greater order and readineſs than the French. The Pruſſians were the firſt who loaded with iron rammers. The ſecond king of Pruſſia taught his troops ſuch an exerciſe, that they could fire ſix times in a minute, with great eaſe. Three ranks diſcharging their fire at once, and then advancing briſkly up, decide the fate of the battle now-a-days. The field-pieces likewiſe produce a no leſs formidable effect. The battalions who are ſtaggered with the fire, do not wait to be attacked with the bayonet, and are completely defeated by the cavalry: ſo that the bayonet frightens more than it ſlays, and the ſword is become abſolutely uſeleſs to the infantry. Strength of body, ſkill, and courage, are no longer of any ſervice to a com-

combatant. The battalions are great machines, and thoſe which are beſt formed naturally bear down all that ſtand in their way. This was the very thing which gave prince Eugene the victory over the Turks in thoſe famous battles of Temiſwar and Belgrade; while the latter would in all probability have had the advantage from their ſuperiority of numbers, had theſe battles been what we called mixed fights. Thus the art of deſtroying each other is not only entirely different from what it was before the invention of gun-powder, but even from what it was a century ago.

As the French arms maintained their reputation with ſuch ſucceſs at firſt in Germany, it was preſumed that marſhal Villars would carry it ſtill farther by an impetuoſity which would diſconcert the German phlegm: but the ſame qualification which made him a formidable chief, rendered it impoſſible for him to act in concert with the elector of Bavaria. The king would not ſuffer his generals to ſhew haughtineſs to any but his enemies; and the elector of Bavaria unhappily wrote for another marſhal of France.

Villars then, whoſe preſence was ſo neceſſary in Germany, where he had gained two battles, and might poſſibly have cruſhed the empire, was recalled, and ſent into the Cevennes, to make peace with the rebellious peaſants. We ſhall ſpeak of theſe fanatics in the chapter of religion. Lewis XIV. had at this time enemies that were more terrible, ſucceſsful, and irreconcileable, than the inhabitants of the Cevennes.

CHAP. CLXXXII.

Loſs of the Battle of HOCHSTET, or BLENHEIM.

THE duke of Marlborough was returned from the Low Countries in the beginning of 1703, with the ſame conduct and the ſame ſucceſs. He had taken Bonn, the reſidence of the elector of Cologne. From thence he marched and retook Hui and Limburg, and made himſelf maſter of all the Lower Rhine. Marſhal Villeroi, now returned from his confinement, commanded in Flanders, where he had no better ſucceſs againſt Marlborough than he had had againſt prince Eugene. Marſhal Boufflers, with a detachment of his army, had indeed gained a ſmall advantage in the fight of Eckeren, over the Dutch general, Opdam; but an advantage which has no conſequences is no advantage at all.

And now the houſe of Auſtria was undone, without the Engliſh general marched to the aſſiſtance of the emperor. The elector of Bavaria was maſter of Paſſau. Thirty thouſand French, under the command of marſhal Marſin, who had ſucceeded Villars, overſpread the countries of the other ſide the Danube. There were ſeveral flying parties in Auſtria. Vienna itſelf was threatened on one ſide by the French and Bavarians, and on the other by prince Ragotſki, at the head of the Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and ſupplied with money from the French and the Turks. In this ſituation of affairs, prince Eugene haſtens from Italy to take

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the command of the armies in Germany: he has an interview with the duke of Marlborough at Heelbron. The Engliſh general, whoſe hands were at full liberty, being left to act as he pleaſed by his queen and her allies the Dutch, marches with ſuccours into the heart of the empire, taking with him for the preſent, ten thouſand Engliſh foot, and twenty-three ſquadrons of horſe. He makes forced marches, and arrives on the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, oppoſite to the elector of Bavaria's lines, where about eight thouſand French, and as many Bavarians lay entrenched, to guard the country they had conquered. After an engagement of two hours, Marlborough forces the lines, at the head of three battalions of Engliſh, and routs the Bavarians and French. It is ſaid that he killed ſix thouſand of the enemy, and loſt as many himſelf. A general concerns himſelf little about the number of ſlain, provided he ſucceeds in his enterprize. He then took Donawert, repaſſed the Danube, and laid Bavaria under contribution. July 2, 1704

Marſhal Villeroi, who attempted to follow him in his firſt marches, loſt ſight of him on a ſudden, and knew not where he was, till he heard the news of his victory at Donawert.

Marſhal Tallard, who with a corps of thirty thouſand men, had marched by another route to oppoſe Marlborough, came and joined the elector. At the ſame time prince Eugene arrives, and joins Marlborough.

At length the two armies met within a ſmall diſtance of Donawert, and nearly in the ſame plains where marſhal Villars had gained a vic-

tory the year before. I know that the marſhal, who was then in the Cevennes, having received a letter from Tallard's army, wrote the night before the battle, acquainting him with the diſpoſition of the two armies, and the manner in which marſhal Tallard intended to engage, wrote to his brother-in-law, the preſident de Maiſons, telling him that if marſhal Tallard gave the enemy battle in that poſition, he muſt infallibly be beaten. This letter was ſhewn to Lewis XIV. and afterwards became public.

The French army, including the Bavarians, conſiſted of eighty-two battalions, and one hundred and ſixty ſquadrons, which made in all near ſixty thouſand men, the corps being then not quite complete. The enemy had ſixty-four battalions, and one hundred and fifty-two ſquadrons, in all not above fifty-two thouſand men; for armies are always made more numerous than they really are. This battle, that proved ſo bloody and deciſive, deſerves a particular attention. The French generals were accuſed of a number of errors; the chief was, the having brought themſelves under a neceſſity of accepting a battle, inſtead of letting the enemies army waſte itſelf for want of forage, and giving time to marſhal Villeroi, either to fall upon the Netherlands, then in a defenceleſs ſtate, or to penetrate farther into Germany. But it ſhould be conſidered in reply to this accuſation, that the French army being ſomewhat ſtronger than that of the allies, might hope for the victory, which indeed would have infallibly dethroned the emperor. The marquis de Feuquieres reckons up no leſs than twelve capital faults committed by the Elector, Marſin, and Tallard, before and after

after the battle. One of the moſt conſiderable was, the not having placed a large body of foot in their centre, and having ſeparated the two bodies of the army. I have often heard marſhal Villars ſay, that this diſpoſition was unpardonable.

Marſhal Tallard was at the head of the right wing, and the Elector, with Marſin, at the left. Tallard had all the impetuous and ſprightly courage of a Frenchman, an active and penetrating underſtanding, and a genius fruitful in expedients and reſources. It was he who had made the partition treaties. He was allied to glory and fortune by all the ways of a man of genius and courage. The battle of Spires had gained him great honour, notwithſtanding the animadverſions of Feuquieres; for a victorious general never appears culpable in the eyes of the public, while he who is beaten is always in the wrong, however juſt or prudent his conduct may have been.

But marſhal Tallard laboured under a malady of very dangerous conſequences to a general; his ſight was ſo weak, that he could not diſtinguiſh objects at the diſtance of twenty paces from him. Thoſe who were well acquainted with him have told me moreover, that his impetuous courage, quite the reverſe of the duke of Marlborough's, growing ſtill warmer in the heat of the action, deprived him ſometimes of the neceſſary preſence of mind. This defect was owing to a dry and inflammatory ſtate of the blood. It is well known that the qualifications of the mind are chiefly influenced by the conſtitution of the body.

This was the firſt time that marſhal Marſin had commanded in chief. With a great deal of wit and a good underſtanding, he is ſaid to have had rather the experience of a good officer than of a general.

As to the elector of Bavaria, he was looked upon not leſs as a great general than as a valiant and amiable prince, the darling of his ſubjects, and who had more magnanimity than application.

At length the battle began, between twelve and one o'clock in the afternoon. Marlborough, with his Engliſh, having paſſed a ſmall rivulet, began the attack upon Tallard's cavalry. That general, a little before, had rode towards the left wing to obſerve its diſpoſition. It was no ſmall diſadvantage to Tallard's corps from the beginning to be obliged to fight without its general at its head. The corps commanded by the Elector and Marſin, had not yet been attacked by prince Eugene. Marlborough began upon our right near an hour before Eugene could have come up to the Elector at our left.

As ſoon as marſhal Tallard heard that Marlborough had attacked his wing, he immediately poſted thither, where he found a furious action begun; the French cavalry rallied three times, and was as often repulſed. He then went to the village of Blenheim, where he had poſted twenty-ſeven battalions, and twelve ſquadrons. This was a little detached army that kept a continual fire on Marlborough, during the whole time he was engaged with Tallard's wing. After giving his orders in this village, he haſtens back to the place, where the duke, with a body

a body of horſe and battalions of foot between the ſquadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him.

Mr. de Feuquieres is certainly miſtaken in ſaying that marſhal Tallard was not preſent at this time, but was taken priſoner as he was returning from Marſin's wing to his own. All accounts agree, and it was but too true for him, that he was actually preſent. He received a hurt in the action, and his ſon was mortally wounded by his ſide. His cavalry was routed before his face. The victorious Marlborough forced his way between the two bodies of the French army on one ſide, while on the other his general officers got between the village of Blenheim and Tallard's diviſion, which was alſo ſeparated from the little army in that village.

In this cruel ſituation, marſhal Tallard flew to rally ſome of the broken ſquadrons; but the badneſs of his ſight made him miſtake a ſquadron of the enemy for one of his own, and he was taken priſoner by the Heſſian troops that were in the Engliſh pay. At the very inſtant that the general was taken, prince Eugene, after having been three times repulſed, at length gained the advantage. The rout now became total in Tallard's diviſion; every one fled with the utmoſt precipitation; and ſo great was the terror and confuſion throughout that whole wing, that officers and ſoldiers ran headlong into the Danube, without knowing whither they were going. There was no general officer to give orders for a retreat; no one thought of ſaving thoſe twenty-ſeven battalions and twelve ſquadrons of the beſt troops of France, that were

were ſo unfortunately ſhut up in Blenheim, or of bringing them into action. At laſt marſhal Marſin ordered a retreat. The count du Bourg, afterwards marſhal of France, ſaved a ſmall part of the infantry, by retreating over the marſhes of Hochſtet; but neither him, Marſin, nor any one elſe, thought of this little army, which ſtill remained in Blenheim, waiting for orders, which were never ſent them. It conſiſted of eleven thouſand effective men, from the oldeſt corps. There are many examples of leſs armies that have beaten others of fifty thouſand men, or at leaſt made a glorious retreat; but the nature of the poſt determines every thing. It was impoſſible for them to get out of the narrow ſtreets of a village, and range themſelves in order of battle, in the face of a victorious army, that would have overwhelmed them at once with a ſuperior front, and even with their own artillery, which was all fallen into the victors hands.

The general officer who commanded here was the marquis of Clerembaut, ſon to the marſhal of that name: he was haſtening to find out marſhal Tallard, to receive orders from him, when he was told that he was taken priſoner; and ſeeing nothing but people running on all ſides, he fled with them, and in flying was drowned in the Danube.

Brigadier Sivieres, who was poſted in this village, ventured upon a bold ſtroke: he called aloud to the officers of the regiments of Artois and Provence, to follow him: ſeveral officers even of other regiments obeyed the ſummons, and ruſhing out of the village, like thoſe who make a ſally from a town that is beſieged, fell

fell upon the enemy; but after this ſally they were to return back again. One of theſe officers, named Des-Nonvilles, returned ſome few moments afterwards on horſeback, with the earl of Orkney. As ſoon as he entered the village, the reſt of the officers flocked round him, enquiring if it was an Engliſh priſoner that he had brought in? "No gentlemen, replied he; I am a priſoner myſelf, and am come to tell you, that you have nothing left but to ſurrender yourſelves priſoners of war. Here is the earl of Orkney, who is come to offer you terms." At hearing this, all theſe old bands ſhuddered with horror: the regiment of Navarre tore its colours, and buried them. But at length they were obliged to yield to neceſſity; and this whole army laid down its arms without having ſtruck a blow. My lord Orkney has told me that it was impoſſible for them to do otherwiſe in their confined ſituation. Europe was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, that the beſt troops in France ſhould have ſuffered ſuch diſgrace. Their misfortune was at firſt imputed to cowardice; but a few years afterwards the ſame thing happening to fourteen thouſand Swedes, who ſurrendered at diſcretion to the Muſcovites, in the open field, fully juſtified the French.

Such was this famous action, which in France was known by the name of the battle of Hochſtet, and by the Engliſh and Germans was called the battle of Blenheim. The victors had near five thouſand killed and eight thouſand wounded; the greateſt part of which loſs fell on the ſide of prince Eugene. The French army was almoſt entirely Aug. 13, 1704

tirely cut to pieces. Of ſixty thouſand men, who had been ſo long victorious, not above twenty thouſand could be gathered together after the battle.

This fatal day was diſtinguiſhed by the loſs of twenty thouſand men killed, fourteen thouſand made priſoners, all the cannon, a prodigious number of ſtandards, colours, tents, and equipages, with the general of the army, and twelve hundred officers of note in the hands of the conquerors. The runaways diſperſed themſelves on all ſides; and upwards of an hundred leagues of country were loſt in leſs than a month. The whole electorate of Bavaria, now fallen under the yoke of the emperor, experienced all the ſeverity of Auſtrian reſentment, and all the cruelties of a rapacious ſoldiery. The elector in his way to Bruſſels, whither he was flying for refuge, met with his brother the elector of Cologne, who like him was driven out of his dominions: they embraced each other with a flood of tears. The court of Verſailles, accuſtomed to continual ſucceſſes, was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and confuſion at this reverſe. The news of the defeat arrived in the midſt of the rejoicings made on account of the birth of a great grand-ſon of Lewis XIV. No one would venture to acquaint the king with this cruel truth. At length madame de Maintenon took upon her to let him know that he was no longer invincible. It has been affirmed both by word of mouth and in writing, and the ſame has been repeated in above twenty different hiſtories, that the emperor ordered a monument of this defeat to be erected in the plains of

of Blenheim, with an inſcription greatly to the diſhonour of the French king; but no ſuch monument ever exiſted *.

The Engliſh alone erected one to the honour of their duke of Marlborough. The queen and the parliament built an immenſe palace for him on one of his principal eſtates, to which they gave the name of Blenheim, where this battle is repreſented in moſt curious paintings and tapeſtry. The thanks of the two houſes of parliament, and of the cities and boroughs, and the general acclamation of the people, were the firſt fruits he received from his victory. But the poem written by the famous Addiſon, a monument more durable than the palace of Blenheim, is reckoned by this warlike and learned nation, among the moſt honourable rewards beſtowed on the duke of Marlborough. The emperor created him a prince of the empire, beſtowed on him the principality of Mindelſheim, which was afterwards exchanged for another; but he was never known by that title; the name of Marlborough being now the moſt noble he could bear.

By the diſperſion of the French army an open paſſage was left to the allies from the Danube to the Rhine. They paſſed the latter of theſe rivers, and entered Alſace. Prince Lewis of Baden, a general famous for his encampments and marches, inveſted Landau. Joſeph king

* Rebouiet aſſures us, that the emperor Leopold actually cauſed ſuch a pyramid to be erected; and it was firmly believed in France, till marſhal Villars in 1707 ſent fifty maſons thither to demoliſh it, who could find no ſuch thing.

of

of the Romans, eldeſt ſon of the emperor Leopold, came to be preſent at this ſiege; Landau was taken, and afterwards Traerbach.

Nov. 13 and 23, 1704

Notwithſtanding the loſs of an hundred leagues of country, the French extended their frontiers. Lewis XIV. ſupported his grandſon in Spain, and his arms were victorious in Italy. It required great efforts to make head againſt the victorious Marlborough in Germany, which however he did; the ſcattered remains of the army were gathered together, the garriſons were ordered to furniſh men, and the militia were ordered to take the field. The miniſtry borrowed money every where. At length an army was got together; and marſhal Villars was recalled from the heart of the Cevennes to take the command upon him. He came and joined the army at Triers, where he found himſelf in preſence of the Engliſh general with an inferior army. Both ſides were deſirous of giving battle; but the prince of Baden not coming up ſoon enough to join his troops to thoſe of the Engliſh, Villars had the honour of obliging Marlborough to decamp. This was doing a great deal at that time. The duke of Marlborough, who had a ſufficient eſteem for marſhal Villars to wiſh to be eſteemed by him again, wrote him the following billet while he was decamping: "Do me the juſtice, Sir, to believe, that my retreat is entirely the prince of Baden's fault, and that I eſteem you even more than I am angry with him."

May, 1705

The French had ſtill ſome barriers in Germany. The enemy had not yet done any thing in Flanders, where marſhal Villeroi, now at liberty,

liberty, had the command. In Spain king Philip V. and the archduke Charles, were both in expectation of the crown, the former from the powerful aſſiſtance of his grandfather, and the good-will of the greater part of the Spaniards; the latter from the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and the partiſans he had in Catalonia and Arragon. This archduke, afterwards emperor, and at that time ſecond ſon to the emperor Leopold, went, towards the latter part of 1703, without any retinue, to London, to implore the aſſiſtance of queen Anne.

Now the Engliſh power appeared in all its glory. This nation, which had in fact ſo little to do with this quarrel, furniſhed the Auſtrian prince with two hundred tranſport-ſhips, thirty ſhips of war, joined to ten ſail of the Dutch, nine thouſand men, and a ſum of money, to go and conquer a kingdom for himſelf. But notwithſtanding the ſuperiority which power and benefits confer, the emperor, in his letter to queen Anne, which the archduke preſented, would not give this princeſs, his benefactreſs, the title of majeſty, but only that of ſerenity *, agreeable to the ſtile of the court of Vienna, which cuſtom alone could juſtify, and which reaſon has ſince changed, when pride has been obliged to ſtoop to neceſſity.

* Reboulét ſays that the German chancery gave the title of Dilection to kings, but this is the title given to electors.

CHAP. CLXXXIII.

Loſſes in SPAIN. Loſs of the Battles of RAMILLIES and TURIN, and their Conſequences.

ONE of the firſt exploits performed by theſe Engliſh troops was the taking of Gibraltar, a place juſtly deemed impregnable. A long chain of ſteep rocks forbid all approach to it by land; it had no harbour, but only a long bay, very wild and unſafe, where ſhips lay expoſed to ſtorms, and the artillery of the fortreſs and mole: the inhabitants of the town were alone ſufficient to defend it againſt a fleet of a thouſand ſhips and an hundred thouſand men. But this very ſtrength was the cauſe of its being taken; there were only an hundred men in garriſon, but theſe were more than ſufficient, had they not neglected a duty which they looked upon as uſeleſs. The prince of Heſſe had landed with eighteen hundred ſoldiers on the northernmoſt neck of land, behind the town; but the ſteepneſs of the rock made an attack upon the place impracticable on that ſide. The fleet in vain fired upwards of fifteen thouſand ſhot; at length a body of ſailors, in one of their merry-makings, happened to row cloſe under the mole in their boats, the cannon of which muſt infallibly have ſunk them all, but not a gun was fired; upon this they mount the mole, make themſelves maſters of it, and freſh troops flocking in on all ſides, this impregnable town was at length obliged to ſurrender. It is ſtill in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh;

Aug. 4, 1704

liſh; and Spain, now again become a formidable power under the adminiſtration of the princeſs of Parma*, ſecond wife to Philip V. and lately victorious in Africa and Italy, beholds with an impotent grief, Gibraltar in the hands of a northern nation, that had hardly a ſingle ſhip in the Mediterranean two centuries ago.

Immediately after the taking of Gibraltar, the Engliſh fleet, now miſtreſs of the ſea, attacked the count de Toulouſe, admiral of France, in view of the caſtle of Malaga. This battle, tho' not a deciſive one, was the laſt epocha of the maritime power of Lewis XIV. His natural ſon the count de Toulouſe, admiral of the kingdom, had fifty ſhips of the line and twenty-four galleys under his command. He made a glorious retreat, with very little loſs. But the king having afterwards ſent thirteen ſhips to attack Gibraltar, while marſhal de Teſſé laid ſiege to it by land; this double raſhneſs proved the ruin of both army and fleet. Some of the ſhips were deſtroyed by a ſtorm, others were boarded and taken by the Engliſh after a moſt noble reſiſtance, and another part of them burnt on the coaſt of Spain. From that day the French had no longer any large fleets either in the Weſtern Ocean or the Mediterranean. The marine returned nearly to the ſame ſtate from whence Lewis XIV. had drawn it, as well as many other glorious things which roſe and ſet under his reign.

Aug. 26, 1704

March 1705

* This was written in the year 1742.

The

The Engliſh, who had taken Gibraltar for themſelves, in leſs than ſix weeks conquered the kingdom of Valentia and Catalonia for the archduke Charles. They took Barcelona by an event of chance, which was owing to the raſhneſs of the beſiegers.

The Engliſh were at that time commanded by one of the moſt extraordinary men ever produced by that country, ſo fruitful in proud, valiant, and whimſical minds. This was the earl of Peterborough, a man who, in every reſpect, reſembled thoſe heroes with whoſe exploits the imagination of the Spaniards has filled ſo many books. At fifteen years of age he left London, to go and make war againſt the Moors in Africa; at twenty he was the firſt who ſet on foot the revolution in England, and went over to the prince of Orange; but, leſt the true reaſon of his voyage ſhould be ſuſpected, he took ſhipping for America, and then went over to the Hague in a Dutch veſſel. He parted with all his fortune more than once. He was now carrying on the war in Spain almoſt at his own expence, and maintained the archduke and all his houſhold. It was this extraordinary man, who, with the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt*, was laying ſiege to Barcelona. He propoſed to the prince to make a ſudden attack on the entrenchments which covered Fort Montjoui and the town. Theſe entrenchments were carried ſword in hand; the prince of Darmſtadt fell in the attack. A bomb falling upon a magazine of pow-

* Réboulet, in his hiſtory, calls this prince the head of the rebels, as if he had been a Spaniard, who had rebelled againſt Philip V.

der

der in the fort, blew it up. The fort was taken, and the town thereupon capitulated. The viceroy came to one of the gates of the town to confer with lord Peterborough; but the articles were not yet ſigned, when their ears were ſuddenly ſtruck with loud cries and ſhrieks. "You have betrayed us, my lord, ſaid the vice-roy to Peterborough; we made a fair capitulation, and there are your Engliſh have entered the city over the ramparts, and are killing, robbing, and plundering every one." "You are miſtaken, replied lord Peterborough, it muſt certainly be the prince of Darmſtadt's troops. There is no other way left to ſave your town, but to let me enter immediately with my Engliſh. I will make every thing quiet, and return again to the gate to ſign the capitulation." He ſpoke this with an air of truth and grandeur that, added to the preſent danger, entirely perſuaded the governor, who immediately let him enter. He flew through the ſtreets with his officers, where he preſently found the Germans and Catalans buſy in plundering the houſes of the principal citizens; he drove them off, and made them quit their booty. After this he meets with the dutcheſs of Popoli in the hands of ſome ſoldiers, who were going to diſhonour her; he takes her from them, and delivers her to her huſband. At length, having made every thing quiet, he returns to the gate according to his promiſe, and ſigns the capitulation. The Spaniards were confounded to find ſuch magnanimity in the Engliſh, whom the populace had always been taught to look upon as mercileſs barbarians, becauſe they were heretics.

To

To the loſs of Barcelona ſucceeded the mortification of a fruitleſs attempt to retake it. Philip V. though he had the greater part of Spain in his intereſt, had neither generals, engineers, or hardly ſoldiers. The count of Toulouſe returned to block up the harbour with twenty-five ſhips of war, the whole remains of the French navy; marſhal Teſſé formed the ſiege by land with thirty-one ſquadrons of horſe, and thirty-ſeven battalions of foot; but the Engliſh fleet appearing, that of France was obliged to retire, and Teſſé raiſed the ſiege with precipitation, leaving an immenſe quantity of proviſions behind him in his camp, and one thouſand five hundred wounded to the mercy of lord Peterborough. Theſe were heavy loſſes; and it could hardly be ſaid whether it had coſt France more to conquer Spain, than it now did to aſſiſt it. Nevertheleſs, the grandſon of Lewis XIV. ſtill kept his ground, through the affection of the Caſtilians, whoſe greateſt pride is their fidelity, and who, on this occaſion, continued firm to the choice they had made.

May 2, 1706

In Italy affairs wore a better aſpect; Lewis was revenged of the duke of Savoy; the duke of Vendome had, in the beginning, repulſed prince Eugene with ſome glory, in the battle of Caſſano, near the Adda; this proved a bloody day, and one of thoſe drawn battles for which both ſides ſing *Te Deum*, and that only ſerve to deſtroy men without advancing the affairs of either party.

Aug. 16, 1706

party. After the battle of Caſſano he gained a complete victory at Caſſinato *, in the abſence of prince Eugene; and that prince, arriving next day, ſaw another detachment of his army intirely routed: in ſhort, the allies were obliged to give ground every where before the duke of Vendome. Turin alone remained to be taken; they were already in march to inveſt it, and there appeared no poſſibility of relieving it. Marſhal Villars puſhed the prince of Baden in Germany. Villeroi, with an army of eighty thouſand men in Germany, was in hopes to indemnify himſelf on Marlborough for the ill ſucceſs he had met with againſt prince Eugene. His too great confidence in his own abilities proved now more fatal than ever to France. April 19, 1706

Marſhal Villeroi's army was encamped near the river Mehaigne, by the heads of the little Ghette; his center was at Ramillies, a village ſince as famous as that of Blenheim. It was in his power to have avoided a battle: he was adviſed to do ſo by his general officers; but a blind paſſion for glory prevailed over every other conſideration. It is ſaid that the diſpoſition he made for the battle was ſuch, that every one of the leaſt experience foreſaw the fatal conſequence. His center was compoſed of new raiſed troops, neither complete nor acquainted

* It was the count de Reventlau, a native of Denmark, who commanded at the battle of Caſſinato, but the troops were all Imperialiſts.

La Baumette obſerves on this occaſion, in his notes on the Age of Lewis XIV. "That the Danes are as little worth abroad as at home." It is very extraordinary to ſee a writer thus abuſing every nation.

with military diſcipline. He left the baggage between the lines, and poſted his left wing behind a moraſs, as if he intended to prevent it from coming near the enemy*.

May 23, 1706 Marlborough, who obſerved all theſe miſtakes with a careful eye, drew up his army in ſuch a manner as to take advantage of them; he perceived that the left wing of the French army could not come up to attack his right; he therefore made draughts from that part of his army, in order to fall upon the enemy's center, at Ramillies, with a ſuperior force. Monſieur de Gaſſion, the lieutenant-general, obſerving theſe motions, cried out to the marſhal, "You are undone, Sir, if you do not inſtantly change the order of battle. Make a draught from your left wing, that you may have an equal force to oppoſe to the enemy. Cloſe your lines more. If you loſe a minute, you are irrecoverably loſt." This ſalutary advice was backed by ſeveral of the other officers; but the marſhal would not believe them. When Marlborough began the attack, he found the army drawn up in the very manner in which he himſelf would have poſted it for a defeat. This was publicly declared through all France, and hiſtory is partly a relation of the opinions of men; but may it not be alledged that the troops of the confederates were better diſciplined, and that the confidence they had in their generals, and their paſt ſucceſſes, inſpired them with ſuperior boldneſs? Were there not ſome of the French regiments who did not do their duty? And do we not

* See Feuquieres's memoirs.

know that thoſe battalions who can beſt ſtand fire, decide the deſtiny of ſtates? The French army did not maintain its ground for half an hour; at Hochſtet the fight laſted for eight hours, and the French killed the victors upwards of eight thouſand men; but, at the battle of Ramillies, they killed them only two thouſand five hundred. The defeat was general; the French loſt twenty thouſand men, together with the honour of their nation, and every hope of recovering the advantage. Bavaria and Cologne had been loſt by the battle of Blenheim, and all Spaniſh Flanders was now loſt by this of Ramillies; Marlborough entered victorious into Antwerp and Bruſſels, took Oſtend, and Menin ſurrendered to him.

Marſhal Villeroi, in deſpair, did not dare to acquaint the king with this defeat; he continued five days without diſpatching a courier. At length he wrote a confirmation of this news, which had already filled the court of France with conſternation; and when he returned to Verſailles to preſent himſelf to the king, that monarch, inſtead of reproaching him, only ſaid, "Monſieur le marechal, people at our time of life are not fortunate."

The king immediately ſent for the duke of Vendôme out of Italy, where he thought his preſence not neceſſary, in order to replace Villeroi in Flanders, and repair, if poſſible, his diſgrace. He ſtill entertained hopes, and with juſt reaſon, that the taking of Turin would make him amends for all theſe loſſes. Prince Eugene was at too great a diſtance to come to its relief; he was on the other ſide the Adigi, and a long chain of intrenchments that lined

the river on this ſide, ſeemed to make a paſſage impracticable. Forty-ſix ſquadrons and an hundred battalions formed the ſiege of this great city.

The duke de Feuillade, who commanded this army, was the gayeſt and moſt amiable man in the kingdom; and, though ſon-in-law to the miniſter, he was the darling of the people; he was ſon to that marſhal de la Feuillade who erected the ſtatue of Lewis XIV. in the ſquare des Victoires. He appeared to have as much courage as his father; the ſame ambition; the ſame magnificence; and more underſtanding. He expected the ſtaff of marſhal of France as a reward for his taking Turin. Chamillard, his father-in-law, who loved him tenderly, had left nothing undone to ſecure him ſucceſs. The imagination ſtands appalled at the detail of the preparations made for this ſiege. Thoſe readers who have it not in their power to inform themſelves of theſe matters, may perhaps not be diſpleaſed to meet here with an account of this immenſe and fruitleſs apparatus.

There were an hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and it is to be obſerved, that each large cannon, mounted on its carriage, coſts about two thouſand crowns; one hundred and ten thouſand balls, one hundred and ſix thouſand cartridges of one ſorm, and three hundred thouſand of another; twenty-one thouſand bomb-ſhells, twenty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred hand-grenades, fifteen thouſand ſand-bags, thirty thouſand pioneering-tools, and twelve hundred thouſand pounds weight of powder, beſides lead, iron, tin, cordage, with every thing proper for the miners, ſulphur, ſalt-petre, and im-

implements of all kinds. It is certain, that the expence of all theſe preparations for deſtruction, was more than ſufficient to have founded a numerous colony, and put it into a flouriſhing condition. Every ſiege of a great town requires the ſame prodigious expence, and yet when a little village is to be repaired at home, it is neglected.

The duke de la Feuillade, full of ardour and activity, inferior to no one in undertakings where courage alone was required, but incapable of conducting thoſe that called for art, reflection, and time, hurried the ſiege againſt all rules. Marſhal Vauban, the only general perhaps who loved his country better than himſelf, had propoſed to the duke de la Feuillade to come and direct the ſiege as an engineer, and to ſerve in his army as a volunteer; but the pride of la Feuillade made him take this offer for inſolence, concealed beneath the appearance of modeſty, and was piqued that the beſt engineer in France ſhould preſume to give him advice. He wrote back to him, in a letter which I have ſeen, "I hope to take Turin by Cohorn." This Cohorn was the Vauban of the allies, an excellent engineer, and a good general, who had taken ſeveral places that had been fortified by Vauban. After ſuch a letter there was a neceſſity to take Turin; but having begun the attack by the citadel, which was the ſtrongeſt part, and the city not being completely ſurrounded, an opening was left for men or proviſions to be thrown in, or for the duke of Savoy to ſally out. In ſhort, the greater impetuoſity the duke de la Feuillade ſhewed in his repeated

and fruitleſs attacks, the more tedious was the ſiege*.

The duke of Savoy came out of the town with ſome ſquadrons of horſe, in order to amuſe the duke de la Feuillade. The latter immediately quitted the direction of the ſiege to run after the prince, who, being better acquainted with the ground, baffled his purſuit. Thus la Feuillade miſſed the duke, and the buſineſs of the ſiege ſuffered by it.

All our hiſtorians, almoſt to a man, aſſert, that the duke de la Feuillade had no intention to take Turin, and pretend that he had ſworn to the dutcheſs of Burgundy to reſpect her father's capital; they likewiſe tell us that this princeſs prevailed upon madame de Maintenon, to cauſe ſuch meaſures to be taken as would

* During this ſiege, which continued from May to September, a ſimple corporal ſacrificed his own life for the good of his country, with a ſpirit equal to that of a Curtius or a Scævola. The French had actually made a lodgement in one of the ſubterraneous galleries of the citadel, from whence they could have penetrated into the body of the place. A corporal of miners, whoſe name was Mica, being at work under the gallery, in finiſhing a mine which was not yet primed, and foreſeeing that the enemy could not fail to have poſſeſſion of the citadel, unleſs they were immediately deſtroyed, devoted his life to the ſafety of his fellow-citizens. He forthwith primed the mine, and deſired one of his companions to tell the king he implored his majeſty's protection for his wife and children; then he ordered his pioneers to retire, and make a ſignal of their being in a place of ſafety, by firing a muſket, which he no ſooner heard, than he ſet fire to the mine, and periſhed with two hundred grenadiers, who had taken poſſeſſion of the gallery. The king expreſſed his ſenſe of this action, by making a very ample proviſion for Mica's wife and children, and ſettling an annual penſion of ſix hundred livres for ever on his deſcendants.

ſave

ſave the town. It it certain, that almoſt all the officers in this army were for a long time perſuaded of the truth of this; but it was only one of thoſe popular rumours which are the diſgrace of the noveliſt, and the diſhonour of the hiſtorian; beſides, how contradictory was it, that the ſame general who would not take Turin, ſhould endeavour to ſeize on the perſon of the duke of Savoy?

From the 13th of May to the 20th of June the duke of Vendôme had been poſted on the banks of the Adigi, to cover this ſiege, and thought himſelf certain, with ſeventy battalions and ſixty ſquadrons, to ſtop all the paſſages againſt prince Eugene.

The imperial general was in want of men and money. The mercers company of London lent him about ſix millions of our livres *; he then ſent for a ſupply of men from the circles of the empire. The ſlowneſs of theſe ſuccours might have proved the ruin of Italy; but the ſlowneſs of the ſiege of Turin was ſtill greater.

Vendôme was already appointed to go and repair the loſſes in Flanders; but, before he left Italy, he ſuffered prince Eugene to croſs the Adigi, to paſs the White Canal, and even the Po itſelf, a river larger, and in ſome places more difficult of paſſage than the Rhine; and before he himſelf left the banks of the Po, he ſaw prince Eugene in a condition to advance even to Turin. Thus he left affairs in the moſt tickliſh criſis in Italy, while in Flanders, Germany, and Spain, they appeared deſperate.

* Or nearly 263300 l. Sterling, at 10½ to the livre.

The duke of Vendôme then went to Mons to aſſemble Villeroi's ſcattered forces; and the duke of Orleans, nephew of Lewis XIV. was ſent to command his army on the banks of the Po. He found theſe troops in as much diſorder as if they had ſuffered a defeat. Eugene had paſſed the Po in ſight of Vendôme; he now croſſed the Tanaro in view of the duke of Orleans, took Carpi, Corregio, and Reggio; ſtole a march upon the French, and at length joined the duke of Savoy near Aſti. All that the duke of Orleans could do was to march and join la Feuillade in his camp before Turin. Prince Eugene followed with the utmoſt diligence. The duke of Orleans had now two meaſures in his choice, either to wait for prince Eugene in the lines of circumvallation, or to march and meet him while he was yet on the other ſide of Veillane. He called a council of war, at which were preſent marſhal Marſin, the ſame who had loſt the battle of Blenheim, the duke de la Feuillade, Albergoti, St. Fremont, and other lieutenant-generals, to whom he thus addreſſed himſelf; "Gentlemen, if we remain in our lines we loſe the battle. The lines of circumvallation are above five leagues in length: it will be impoſſible for us to line all theſe entrenchments. On one hand here is the regiment of marines, that is not above two men deep; and, on the other hand, there are many places left entirely naked. The Doire, which runs through our camp, will prevent our men from marching readily to the aſſiſtance of one another; beſides, when the French know they are attacked, they loſe one of their principal advantages, that impetuoſity and inſtantaneous ardour.

dour, which ſo frequently decide the fate of battles. Believe me, it is our intereſt to march directly to the enemy." The lieutenant-generals immediately cried out, one and all, "Let us march." Then marſhal Marſin drew the king's order out of his pocket, which left every thing to his deciſion in caſe of an action, and it was his opinion to remain in the lines.

The duke of Orleans was not a little incenſed to find, that he was ſent to the army only as a prince of the blood, and not as a general; however, he was obliged to follow Marſin's advice, and made the neceſſary preparations for this diſadvantageous action.

The enemy ſeemed at firſt to intend to make ſeveral attacks at once; and the variety of their movements threw the French camp into confuſion. The duke of Orleans propoſed one thing, Marſin and la Feuillade another; they diſputed, and concluded upon nothing; till at length they ſuffered the enemy to paſs the Doire, who advanced towards them in eight columns, of twenty-five men deep each. There was an immediate neceſſity of oppoſing them with battalions of equal thickneſs.

Albergoti, who was poſted at a diſtance from the main army, on the Capucins hill, had twenty thouſand men with him, and only a body of the enemy's militia to oppoſe, who did not dare to attack. They ſent from the camp for a detachment of twelve thouſand men; but he returned for anſwer, that he could not weaken his diviſion, and gave ſome ſpecious reaſons. Time was loſt in theſe altercations. Prince Eugene attacks the intrenchments, and in two

Sept. 7, 1706 hours time forces them. The duke of Orleans was wounded, and had retired to be dreſt; but he was ſcarce got to the ſurgeon's tent, when word was brought him that all was loſt, that the enemy was maſter of the camp, and that the defeat was become general. Nothing remained but immediate flight; the trenches were abandoned, and the whole army diſperſed. All the baggage, proviſion, and ammunition, together with the military cheſt, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Marſhal Marſin himſelf was wounded in the thigh, and made priſoner. One of the duke of Savoy's ſurgeons cut off his thigh, and he died a few minutes after the operation. Sir Paul Methuen, ambaſſador from England to the court of Turin, the moſt generous and brave man that his country had ever employed in her embaſſies, fought by the duke of Savoy's ſide during the whole action. He was preſent when marſhal Marſin was taken priſoner, and was near him in his laſt moments; and he told me, that the marſhal, when he was dying, ſpoke to him in theſe very terms: "Be perſuaded, Sir, that it was contrary to my opinion that we waited for you in our lines." Theſe words ſeem poſitively to contradict what paſſed at the council of war, and may nevertheleſs be true; for Marſin, when he took leave of the king at Verſailles, repreſented to his majeſty that it would be proper to march and attack the enemy, in caſe they ſhould appear to relieve Turin; but Chamillard, intimidated by ſo many former defeats, had afterwards prevailed that the army ſhould wait in the lines, and not offer

offer battle: and this order given at Verſailles occaſioned the diſperſion of ſixty thouſand men.

The French had not above two thouſand men killed in this engagement; but we have already ſeen, that a panic does more than even ſlaughter. The impoſſibility of finding ſubſiſtence, which would make an army retire after a victory, brought back the troops to Dauphiny, after their defeat. Every thing was in ſuch diſorder, that the count of Medavy-Grancei, who was at that time in the Mantuan with a body of troops, and beat the Imperialiſts at Caſtiglione, under the command of the prince of Heſſe, afterwards king of Sweden, gained only a fruitleſs victory, though it was complete *. In a word, the dutchy of Milan, Mantua, Piedmont, and laſtly the kingdom of Naples, were all loſt within a very little time of one another. Sep. 9, 1706

* This officer ſurpriſed the prince of Heſſe in the neighbourhood of Caſtiglione, and obliged him to retreat to the Adigi, with the loſs of two thouſand men; but this action was attended with no other conſequence.

CHAP. CLXXXIV.

The Loſſes of the FRENCH and SPANIARDS continued. LEWIS XIV. humbled; his Perſeverance and Reſources. Battle of MALPLAQUET.

THE battle of Hochſtet, or Blenheim, coſt Lewis XIV. a fine army, and the whole country from the Danube to the Rhine; and the elector of Bavaria all his dominions. All Flanders was loſt to the very gates of Liſle, by the fatal day of Ramillies; and the defeat at Turin drove the French out of Italy, which had always happened to them in every war ſince the time of Charlemagne. They had ſtill ſome troops left in the dutchy of Milan, and the little victorious army under the count of Medavy. They were alſo ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong places. They offered to give up all theſe to the emperor, provided he would permit theſe troops, which amounted to about fifteen thouſand men, to retire unmoleſted. The emperor accepted of the propoſition, and the duke of Savoy gave his aſſent. Thus the emperor, with a daſh of his pen, became peaceable poſſeſſor of Italy. The kingdom of Naples and Sicily was guarantied to him, and every thing that had formerly been feudal was now treated as ſubject to a ſupreme power. He impoſed a tax of one hundred and fifty thouſand piſtoles upon Tuſcany; forty thouſand upon the dutchy of Mantua; and Parma, Modena, Lucca, and Genoa, notwithſtanding they were free ſtates, were included in theſe impoſitions.

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The emperor, who had all theſe advantages on his ſide, was not that Leopold, the antient rival of Lewis XIV. who, under a ſhew of moderation, had ſecretly cheriſhed the moſt ambitious views. It was the fiery, ſprightly, and paſſionate Joſeph, his eldeſt ſon, who was not ſo good a ſoldier as his father. If ever there was an emperor who ſeemed formed to enſlave Germany, it was this Joſeph: his dominions ſtretched beyond the Alps, he laid the pope under contribution, and, by his ſole authority, in 1706, had the electors of Bavaria and Cologne put under the ban of the empire, and then ſtript them of their dominions. He kept Bavaria's children in priſon, and took away from them even their name. Their father had nothing left but to retire to France and the Low Countries, afterwards, in 1712; Philip V. ceded to them all Spaniſh Flanders *. If he could have kept this province, it would have been a better ſettlement for him than even Bavaria, and have freed him from his ſubjection to the houſe of Auſtria; but he could get poſſeſſion only of the cities of Luxemburg, Namur, and Charleroi, the reſt being in the hands of the victors. Every thing now ſeemed to threaten Lewis XIV. who had ſo lately been the terror of all Europe. There was nothing to oppoſe the duke of Savoy's entering France. England and Scotland were lately become one kingdom, by the union: or, rather, Scotland, now become a province of England, encreaſed the power of its

* It is ſaid in Reboulet's hiſtory, that he had this ſovereignty as early as 1700; but at that time it was governed only by a viceroy.

antient

antient rival. In the years 1706 and 1707 all the enemies of France ſeemed to have acquired new ſtrength, and that kingdom to be on the verge of ruin. She was puſhed on all ſides, both by ſea and land. Of the formidable fleets which Lewis XIV. had raiſed, ſcarcely five and twenty ſhips were left remaining. Straſburg ſtill continued to be the barrier town towards Germany; but by the loſs of Landau, all Alſace lay expoſed. Provence was threatened with an invaſion by ſea and land, and the loſſes already ſuſtained in Flanders, made us tremble for what was left; and yet, notwithſtanding all theſe diſaſters, the body of the kingdom had not yet been attacked; and, unſucceſsful as the war had been, we only loſt what we had before conquered.

Lewis XIV. ſtill oppoſed his enemies; and though beaten almoſt every where, he continued to reſiſt, protect, and even attack on all ſides. But affairs were as unſucceſsful in Spain as in Italy, Germany, and Flanders. It is ſaid that the ſiege of Barcelona was ſtill worſe conducted than that of Turin.

The count of Toulouſe* had hardly made his appearance with his fleet, when he was ob-

* In the beginning of April 1706, king Philip at the head of a numerous army, undertook the ſiege of Barcelona, which was defended by his rival Charles, in perſon. It was at the ſame time blocked up by ſea, by the Count de Toulouſe, and in all probability muſt have ſurrendered, had it not been relieved by the Engliſh fleet. Sir John Leak ſailed from Liſbon with thirty ſhips of the line, and on the eighth day of May arrived in ſight of Barcelona. The French admiral at his approach made the beſt of his way to Toulon; and in three days after his departure, Philip retired in great diſorder, leaving his tents behind, together with his ſick and wounded.

liged

liged to ſail back again. Barcelona was relieved, the ſiege raiſed, and the French, after having loſt half their army, were forced, for want of proviſions, to march back into Navarre, a little kingdom that they kept for the Spaniards, and of which our kings take the title by a cuſtom that ſeems beneath their dignity.

To theſe diſaſters was added yet another, which ſeemed to be the finiſhing ſtroke. The Portugueſe, together with a body of Engliſh, under the command of lord Galloway, a Frenchman, formerly count de Ruvigni, lately created a peer of Ireland, took every place they preſented themſelves before, and were advanced even into the province of Eſtramadura; while the duke of Berwick, an Engliſhman, who commanded the troops of France and Spain, in vain attempted to ſtop their progreſs.

Philip V. uncertain of his fate, was in Pampelona; while his competitor, Charles, was increaſing his party, and augmenting his forces in Catalonia.

He was maſter of Arragon, the province of Valentia, Carthagena, and part of the province of Granada. The Engliſh took Gibraltar for themſelves, and gave him Minorca, Ivica, and Alicant: beſides, the road of Madrid was open to him; and lord Galloway entered that city without any reſiſtance, and proclaimed the archduke Charles king: a ſingle detachment ſent from the army proclaimed him in Toledo. In ſhort, Philip's affairs ſeemed ſo deſperate that marſhal Vauban, the firſt of engineers, and the beſt of citizens, a man continually engaged in ſchemes, ſome uſeful, others impracticable, and all

June 26, 1706

all of them ſingular, actually propoſed to the French court to ſend Philip over to America to reign there. In this caſe all the Spaniards in Philip's intereſt would have quitted their country to follow him. Spain would have been left a prey to civil factions. The French would have had the whole trade of Peru and Mexico, and France would have been aggrandized even by the misfortunes of Lewis XIV's family. This project was actually in conſideration at Verſailles; but the perſeverance of the Caſtilians, and the overſights of the enemy, preſerved the crown upon Philip's head. The people loved him as the king of their choice; and his queen, the duke of Savoy's daughter, had gained their affections by the pains ſhe took to pleaſe them; by an intrepidity above her ſex, and an active perſeverance under misfortunes. She went in perſon from city to city, animating the minds of her ſubjects, rouſing their zeal, and receiving the donations which they brought in on all ſides; ſo that in three weeks time ſhe remitted her huſband upwards of two hundred thouſand crowns. Not one of the grandees who had taken the oath of fidelity proved falſe. When lord Galloway proclaimed the archduke in Madrid, the people cried out, "Long live king Philip;" and at Toledo they mutinied, and put to flight the officers who were going to proclaim Charles.

The Spaniards had till then made very few efforts in ſupport of their king; but when they ſaw him thus diſtreſſed, they exerted themſelves in a ſurpriſing manner; and on this occaſion ſhewed an example of a courage quite the reverſe of that of other nations, who generally

ſet.

ſet out in a vigorous manner, but ſhrink back at laſt. It is very difficult to impoſe a king upon a nation againſt its will. The Portugueſe, Engliſh, and Auſtrians, that were in Spain, were miſerably harraſſed wherever they came, ſuffered much for want of proviſions, and were guilty of errors almoſt unavoidable in a ſtrange country; ſo that they were beaten piece-meal. In ſhort, Philip V. three months after his leaving Madrid like a fugitive, entered it again in triumph, and was received with as much joy and acclamations as his rival had met with coldneſs and averſion.

Lewis XIV. redoubled his efforts when he ſaw the Spaniards beſtir themſelves; and while he was obliged to provide for the ſafety of the ſea-coaſts of the weſtern ocean and the Mediterranean, by ſtationing militia all along ſhore; though he had one army in Flanders, another at Straſburg, a body of troops in Navarre, and one in Rouſſillon, he ſent a freſh reinforcement to marſhal Berwick at Caſtile.

It was with theſe troops, ſeconded by the Spaniards, that Berwick gained the important battle of Almanza*, in which he beat Galloway. Neither Philip nor the archduke were preſent at this action, on which the famous earl of Peterborough, who was ſingular in every thing, obſerved, April 25, 1707

* This was fought on the fourteenth day of April 1707, and was altogether a deciſive action. The allies were totally defeated, with the loſs of ten thouſand men taken priſoners, with all their colours and artillery. The defeat was in a great meaſure owing to the cowardice of the Portugueſe troops on the right, who fled on the firſt onſet.

"That

"That it was excellent, indeed, to fight againſt one another for them." The duke of Orleans, who was to have the command in Spain, and who was very deſirous of being preſent, did not arrive till the day after the battle: however, he made all poſſible advantage of the victory, by taking ſeveral places, and among others Lerida, the rock on which the great Condé had ſplit.

On the other hand, marſhal Villars, now replaced at the head of the armies in Germany, becauſe the government could not do without him, made amends for the fatal defeat at Hochſtet. He forced the enemy's lines at Stolhoffen, on the other ſide the Rhine, diſperſed their whole body, levied contributions for fifty leagues round, and advanced as far as the Danube. This momentary ſucceſs gave a better face to affairs on the frontiers of Germany; but in Italy all was loſt. The kingdom of Naples, entirely defenceleſs, and accuſtomed to a change of maſters, was under the yoke of the conquerors; and the pope, unable to refuſe a paſſage to the German troops through his dominions, ſaw, without daring to murmur, the emperor make himſelf his vaſſal againſt his will. It is a ſtrong inſtance of the force of received opinions, and the power of cuſtom, that Naples may always be ſeized upon without conſulting the pope, and yet that the poſſeſſor is always obliged to do him homage for it.

While the grand-ſon of Lewis XIV. was thus deprived of Naples, the grand-father was on the point of loſing Provence and Dauphiny. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had already entered thoſe provinces by the narrow paſs of Tende; and Lewis XIV. had the mortifi-

tification to ſee that very duke of Savoy, who a twelvemonth before had hardly any thing left but his capital, and prince Eugene, who had been brought up at his court, on the point of ſtripping him of Toulon and Marſeilles.

Toulon was beſieged, and in danger of being taken; the Engliſh fleet lay before the harbour, and bombarded the town. A little more diligence, precaution, and unanimity, would have carried Toulon. Marſeilles, then left defenceleſs, could have made no reſiſtance, and France ſeemed likely to loſe two provinces; but what is probable ſeldom happens. There was time to ſend ſuccours; a detachment had been made from marſhal Villars's army, as ſoon as theſe provinces were threatened; and the advantages in Germany were made to give way to the ſafety of a part of France. That part of the country by which the enemy entered was dry, barren, and hilly; proviſions were ſcarce, and a retreat difficult. A ſickneſs, which made great havock in the enemy's army, proved no unfavourable circumſtance to Lewis XIV. The ſiege of Toulon was raiſed *, and ſoon afterwards the enemy evacuated Provence, and Dauphiny was out of danger; ſo ſeldom does an invaſion prove ſucceſsful, unleſs there is an intelligence with the people of the country. Charles V. failed in the ſame deſign, and of

* This attempt upon Toulon might have ſucceeded, if the emperor, notwithſtanding the repeated remonſtrances of the maritime powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a conſiderable army towards Naples; and detained ten thouſand recruits in Germany, from an apprehenſion of the king of Sweden, who was then in Saxony, and on very indifferent terms with the court of Vienna.

late

late days the queen of Hungary's troops have been likewiſe diſappointed in their attempts upon this country.

However, this invaſion, which coſt the allies ſo dear, proved of no ſmall diſſervice to the French. The country had been ſpoiled, and our forces divided.

Europe little expected that, while the French nation thus exhauſted, thought itſelf happpy in having eſcaped an invaſion, Lewis XIV. was ſufficiently great and fruitful in expedients, to attempt himſelf an invaſion in Great Britain, in deſpite of the weak ſtate of his maritime forces and the powerful fleets of the Engliſh that covered the ſeas. This expedition was propoſed by ſome of the Scotch, in the intereſt of James III. The ſucceſs was doubtful; but Lewis thought the very attempt ſufficiently glorious; and actually declared afterwards, that he was determined as much by this motive as his political intereſt.

To carry the war into Great-Britain at that time, when we could with difficulty ſupport the burthen of it in ſo many other places, and to endeavour to replace the ſon of James II. on the throne of Scotland, at leaſt while we could hardly ſupport Philip V. on that of Spain, was a noble idea, and after all, not quite deſtitute of probability.

Thoſe of the Scotch who had not ſold themſelves to the court of London, were grieved to ſee themſelves reduced to a ſtate of dependence on the Engliſh, and privately with one accord called upon the offspring of their ancient kings, who in his infancy had been driven from the throne

throne of three kingdoms, and whoſe very birth had been conteſted by his enemies. They promiſed to join him with thirty thouſand men in arms to fight his cauſe, if he would only land at Edinburgh with ſome few ſuccours from France.

Lewis XIV. who in his paſt time of proſperity, had made ſuch efforts in behalf of the father, now did the ſame for the ſon, though his fortunes were in the decline. Eight ſhips of war and ſeventy tranſports were got ready at Dunkirk, and ſix thouſand men put on board. The count de Gacé, afterwards marſhal Matignon, had the command of the troops, and the chevalier de Forbin Janſon, one of the beſt ſailors of his time, that of the fleet. Every thing ſeemed favourable for their deſign: there were but three thouſand regular troops in Scotland, England was left defenceleſs, its ſoldiers being all engaged in Flanders, under the duke of Marlborough. The difficulty was to get thither; for the Engliſh had a fleet of fifty ſhips of war cruiſing at ſea. This expedition was exactly like the late one in 1744, in favour of the grand-ſon of James II. It was diſcovered by the government, and impeded by ſeveral unlucky accidents; inſomuch that the Engliſh miniſtry had time to ſend for twelve battalions out of Flanders. Several of the moſt ſuſpected perſons were ſeized in Edinburgh. At length, the pretender having ſhewed himſelf upon the Scotch coaſt, and not ſeeing the ſignals which had been agreed upon, nothing was left but to return back again. The chevalier Forbin landed March, 1708

him

him ſafe at Dunkirk *, and by his prudent retreat ſaved the French fleet; but the expedition was entirely fruſtrated. Matignon was the only one who gained any thing on this occaſion: having opened his orders after he came out to ſea, he there found a patent for marſhal of France, a reward for what he meant to do, but could not perform.

There cannot be a more abſurd notion than that of ſome hiſtorians, who pretend that queen Anne had a correſpondence with her brother in this affair. It is abſolute folly to ſuppoſe that ſhe would invite her competitor in the crown to come and dethrone her. They have confounded the time, and imagined that ſhe favoured him becauſe ſhe afterwards looked upon him in private as her ſucceſſor: but what prince would chuſe to be driven from the throne by his ſucceſſor?

While the French affairs were every day growing worſe and worſe, the king thought, that by ſending the duke of Burgundy, his grand-ſon, to head the army in Flanders, the preſence of the heir preſumptive to the crown would excite the emulation of the troops,

* Lewis XIV. is ſaid to have had other aims than thoſe our author mentions. His chief deſign was to make a diverſion from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great Britain, which might hamper the Engliſh miniſtry, and hinder queen Anne from exerting herſelf againſt France on the continent. The ſcheme was defeated by the vigilance of ſir George Byng, commander of the Engliſh ſquadron, who reached the Frith of Edinburgh time enough to prevent the Pretender's landing. He gave chace to the French ſquadron, one of the ſhips of which he took, and Fourbin eſcaped with great difficulty.

which

which began to droop. This prince was of a reſolute and intrepid diſpoſition, pious, juſt, and learned. He was formed to command wiſe men: he loved mankind, and endeavoured to make them happy. Though well verſed in the art of war, he conſidered that art rather as the ſcourge of human kind, and an unhappy neceſſity, than the ſource of real glory. This philoſophical prince was the perſon ſent to oppoſe the duke of Marlborough, and they gave him the duke of Vendôme for an aſſiſtant. It now happened, as it too frequently does: the experienced officer was not ſufficiently liſtened to, and the prince's council frequently carried it over the general's reaſons. Hence aroſe two parties; whereas, in the enemy's army, there was but one, that of the public good. Prince Eugene was at that time on the Rhine; but when he and Marlborough were together, they never had but one opinion.

The duke of Burgundy had the ſuperiority in numbers: France, which Europe looked upon as exhauſted, had furniſhed him with an army of one hundred thouſand men; and the allies at that time had not quite eighty thouſand. He had moreover the advantage of intelligence on his ſide, in a country which had been ſo long under the Spaniſh dominion, was tired out with Dutch garriſons, and where a great part of the inhabitants were inclined to favour Philip V. By his correſpondence in Ghent and Ypres, he became maſter of theſe two places; but the ſchemes of the ſoldier ſoon rendered fruitleſs thoſe of the politician. The diſagreement in the council of war, already began to diſtract their operations; ſo that now they

they began to march towards the Dendre, and two hours afterwards turned back again towards the Scheld, to go to Oudenard. In this manner did they loſe time, while the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene were making the beſt of theirs, and acted in concert with each other. The French were routed near Oudenarde. This was not a great battle*; but it proved a fatal retreat. Error was added to terror. The regiments were ſuffered to wander at random without receiving any orders, and upwards of four thouſand men were made priſoners on the road, by the enemy's army, a few miles diſtant only from the field of battle.

July 11, 1708

The army in deſpondency retreated without any order, part under Ghent, part under Tournay, and part under Ypres, and quietly ſuffered prince Eugene, now returned from the Rhine, to lay ſiege to Liſle with an inferior army.

To ſit down before ſo large and well fortified a town as Liſle without being maſter of Ghent, obliged to ſend for proviſions and ammunition as far as Oſtend, and theſe to be brought over a narrow cauſeway, at the hazard of being every moment ſurpriſed, was what Europe called a raſh action; but which the miſunderſtanding and irreſolution that prevailed in the French army rendered very excuſeable, and was juſtified in the end by the ſucceſs. The grand convoys which might have been intercepted, arrived ſafe. The troops that eſcorted them, and which

* If the night had not interpoſed, the whole French army would have been ruined.

ought to have been defeated by a ſuperior number, proved victorious †. The duke of Burgundy's army, that might have attacked that of the enemy before it was complete, remained inactive; and Liſle was taken, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, who thought the duke of Burgundy rather in a condition to beſiege Marlborough and Eugene, than thoſe generals to beſiege Liſle. Marſhal Boufflers defended the place near four months.

The inhabitants became ſo familiar with the noiſe of cannon, and all the horror that attended a ſiege, that public diverſions were carried on as frequent as in time of peace; and though a bomb one day fell very near the play-houſe, it did not interrupt the entertainment.

Marſhal Boufflers had made ſuch judicious diſpoſitions, that the inhabitants of this great city remained perfectly ſecure in his vigilance. The defence he made gained him the eſteem even of his enemies, the hearts of the inhabitants, and a reward from the king. Thoſe Dutch hiſtorians, or rather writers, who affect to blame him, ſhould remember, that to contradict the public voice, a perſon muſt have been a witneſs, and an intelligent one, or prove what he advances ‡.

† Alluding to the battle of Wynendaſe, in which major general Webb, with ſix thouſand of the allies, defeated two and twenty thouſand French, commanded by the count de la Motte.

‡ Of this nature is a hiſtory which a bookſeller called Vanduren, pretends to have been written by the Jeſuit La Motte, when concealed in Holland, under the name of La Hode, and continued by Martiniere; the whole founded only on the pretended memoirs of a count de - - -, ſecretary of ſtate.

In the mean time, the army that had looked on while Liſle was taken, began to diminiſh by little and little, and ſuffered Ghent to be taken next, and then Bruges, and all the poſts one after another. Few campaigns have proved more fatal than this. The officers in the duke of Vendôme's intereſt laid all theſe faults to the duke of Burgundy's council, who retorted them back upon the duke of Vendôme. All minds were ſoured with misfortune. One of the duke of Burgundy's courtiers ſaid one day to the duke de Vendôme, "Thus it is, never to go to maſs; you ſee how misfortunes follow us." "Do you think then, replied the duke de Vendôme, that Marlborough goes there oftner than we?" The emperor Joſeph was puffed up with the rapid ſucceſſes of the allied army; he ſaw himſelf abſolute in the empire, maſter of Landau, and the road to Paris in a manner open, by the taking of Liſle. A party of Dutch ſoldiers had the boldneſs to advance as far as Verſailles, from Courtrai, and carried off the king's firſt equerry from under the caſtle windows, thinking it had been the dauphin, the duke of Burgundy's father. Paris was filled with terror; and the emperor entertained as ſtrong hopes of ſettling his brother Charles on the throne of Spain, as Lewis XIV. had to keep his grandſon in poſſeſſion of it.

This ſucceſſion, which the Spaniards wanted to have rendered indiviſible, was already ſplit into three parts. The emperor had taken Lombardy and the kingdom of Naples to himſelf. His brother Charles was ſtill in poſſeſſion of Catalonia, and a part of Arragon. The emperor at that time obliged pope Clement XI.

to acknowledge the archduke for king of Spain. This pope, who was ſaid to reſemble St. Peter, becauſe he owned, denied, repented, and wept; had, after the example of his predeceſſor, acknowledged Philip V. and was attached to the houſe of Bourbon. The emperor, to puniſh him, declared ſeveral fiefs, which at that time were held from the popes, ſubject to the empire, particularly Parma and Placentia; laid waſte ſeveral lands belonging to the holy ſee, and ſeized on the town of Commacchio. In former times, a pope would have excommunicated any emperor who had attempted to diſpute with him the moſt trifling privileges; and that excommunication would have driven the emperor from his throne: but the power of this ſee was now reduced within its proper bounds. Clement XI. at the inſtigation of France had ventured to unſheath the ſword for ſome ſhort time; but he had no ſooner taken up arms than he repented of it. He perceived that the Romans were incapable of wielding the ſword under a ſacerdotal government. He therefore laid down his arms, left Commacchio in the emperor's hands as a pledge of his future peaceable conduct, and conſented to write to the archduke with the ſtile of "Our deareſt ſon, the catholic king in Spain." A fleet of Engliſh ſhips in the Mediterranean, and a German army in his dominions, ſoon made him glad to write, "To our deareſt ſon Charles king of Spain." It was thought that this ſuffrage of the popes, though of no ſervice in the German empire, might have ſome effect on the Spaniſh populace, who had been made to believe that the archduke was unworthy

to reign, becauſe he was protected by heretics, who had taken Gibraltar.

There yet remained to the Spaniſh monarchy beyond the continent, the two iſlands of Sardinia and Sicily: an Engliſh fleet had taken Sardinia, and given it to the emperor; for the Engliſh were not willing that the archduke ſhould have any thing more than Spain. At that time they made treaties of partition with their arms. The conqueſt of Sicily they reſerved for another time, chuſing rather to employ their ſhips at ſea in cruiſing for the Spaniſh galleons, ſome of whom they took, than in conquering new territories for the emperor.

France was now as much humbled as Rome, and more in danger; reſources began to fail, credit was at a ſtand, and the people, who had idolized their monarch in his proſperity, began to murmur againſt him when unfortunate.

A ſet of men to whom the miniſtry had ſold the nation for a little ready money to ſupply the immediate call, grew fat on the public calamity, and inſulted the ſufferings of the people by their luxurious manner of living. The money they had advanced was ſpent; and had it not been for the bold induſtry of certain traders, particularly thoſe of St. Malo, who made a voyage to Peru, and brought home thirty millions, half of which they lent to the government, Lewis XIV. would not have had money to pay his troops. The war had ruined the kingdom, and the merchants ſaved it: this was the caſe in Spain. The galleons, which had eſcaped being taken by the Engliſh, helped to ſupport Philip V. but this reſource, which was only of a few months duration, did not facili-

tate the raiſing of recruits. Chamillard, who had been made treaſurer and ſecretary at war, reſigned the latter poſt into the hands of M. Voiſin, afterwards chancellor, who had formerly been an intendant on the frontiers. The armies were full as badly ſupplied as before, nor did merit meet with more encouragement. This ſame Chamillard afterwards reſigned the management of the treaſury likewiſe; but Deſmarets, who ſucceeded him in that poſt *, was not able to reſtore a ruined credit. The ſevere winter of 1709 completed the deſpair of the nation. The olive trees, which bring in a great deal of money in the ſouth of France, were all deſtroyed; almoſt all the fruit trees were killed with the froſt; there were no hopes of an harveſt; and there was very little corn in the granaries; and what could be brought at a very great diſtance from the ſea-port towns of the Levant, and the coaſt of Barbary, was liable to be taken by the enemies fleets, to whom we had hardly any ſhips of war to oppoſe. The ſcourge of this dreadful winter was general all over Europe; but the enemies had more reſources, eſpecially the Dutch, who had been ſo long the factors for other nations, had magazines ſufficiently ſtored to ſupply the ſtrongeſt armies the allies could bring into the field, in a plentiful manner, while the French troops, di-

* The hiſtory of the jeſuit de la Motte, digeſted by La Martiniere ſays, that monſieur de Chamillard was removed from the treaſury in 1703, and that marſhal Harcourt was called by the public voice to ſucceed him. The blunders of this writer are out of number.

miniſhed and diſheartened, ſeemed ready to periſh for want.

Lewis XIV. who had already made ſome advances towards a peace, determined under theſe fatal circumſtances to ſend his chief miniſter, the marquis Torci Colbert, to the Hague, aſſiſted by the preſident Rouillé. This was an humbling ſtep. They firſt met at Antwerp, with two burgo-maſters from Amſterdam, named Buis and Vanderhuſſen, who talked in the ſtile of conquerors, and returned upon the miniſters of the proudeſt of all princes all the arrogance with which they themſelves had been treated in 1672.

The ſtates-general had choſen no ſtadtholder ſince the death of king William; and the Dutch magiſtrates, who already began to call their families, "The patrician families," were ſo many petty kings. The four Dutch commiſſaries, who attended the army, behaved with the utmoſt inſolence to above thirty German princes, whom they maintained in their pay. "Send Holſtein hither, ſaid they; tell Heſſe to come and ſpeak to us." In this manner did a ſet of merchants expreſs themſelves, who, all plain in their garb, and abſtemious in their way of living, took a pleaſure in trampling upon German haughtineſs in their pay, and mortifying the pride of a king who had formerly been their conqueror. They were not contented with ſhewing the world by theſe external marks of ſuperiority, that power is the only real greatneſs. They likewiſe inſiſted upon having ten towns in Flanders given them up in ſovereignty, and among others Liſle, which was already in their hands; and Tournai,

nai, which was not yet taken. Thus the Dutch wanted to reap all the fruits of the war, not only at the expence of France, but at that of the houſe of Auſtria likewiſe, whoſe cauſe they had been fighting, in the ſame manner as the republic of Venice had formerly augmented its territories with thoſe of its neighbours. The republican ſpirit is in the main full as ambitious as the monarchical.

This plainly appeared a few months afterwards; for when this ſhadow of a negociation was vaniſhed, and the allied army had gained ſome freſh advantages, the duke of Marlborough, at that time more abſolute in England than his royal miſtreſs, having been gained over by the Dutch, concluded a treaty with the States-general in 1709, by which they were to keep poſſeſſion of all the frontier towns which ſhould be taken from the French; were to have garriſons in twenty fortreſſes in Flanders, to be maintained at the expence of the country, and to have Upper Guelders in perpetual ſovereignty. By this treaty they would have become actual ſovereigns of the ſeventeen provinces of the Netherlands, and have had the ſupreme rule in Liege and Cologne. In this manner did they want to aggrandize themſelves by the ruin even of their allies. They were full of theſe lofty projects when the chief miniſter of France came to them to aſk for peace; we muſt not therefore be ſurpriſed at the diſdainful reception he met with.

After theſe firſt ſteps of humiliation, Lewis's miniſter went to the Hague, where he received in his maſter's name the laſt degree of inſult. He there ſaw prince Eugene, the duke of

Marlborough, and the penſionary Heinſius, who all three were for continuing the war. The prince, becauſe it at once gratified his glory and his revenge; Marlborough, becauſe he gained both reputation and immenſe riches, of which he was equally fond; the third, who was guided by the other two, looked upon himſelf as a Spartan humbling the pride of a Perſian monarch. They propoſed inſtead of peace a truce, and during that truce a full ſatisfaction for all their allies, without taking any notice of the king's, conditionally that the king ſhould aſſiſt in driving his grand-ſon from the throne of Spain, within two months; and that as a ſurety for his performance of the treaty, he ſhould begin by ceding to the ſtates general for ever, ten towns in Flanders, reſtore Straſburg and Briſac, and renounce the ſovereignty of Alſace. Lewis little expected, ſome years before, when he refuſed a company of horſe to Prince Eugene, when Churchill was only a colonel in the Engliſh army, and the name of Heinſius was hardly known, that one day theſe three men ſhould impoſe ſuch laws upon him. The marquis de Torcy took his leave without negociating, and returned to carry the king the orders of his enemies. Lewis XIV. now did what he had never before done towards his ſubjects. He juſtified his conduct in a circular letter, which he addreſſed to them, in which, after acquainting his people with the farther burthens he was obliged to lay upon them, he endeavoured to rouſe their indignation, honour, and even pity. The politicians ſaid that Torci went to the Hague in that ſuppliant manner, only to throw the whole blame upon

upon the enemy, to juſtify Lewis XIV. in the eyes of Europe, and animate the French to a juſt reſentment; but the fact is, that he went there purely to demand peace. The preſident Rouillé was left ſome few days at the Hague, to endeavour to get more favourable conditions; but all the anſwer he received to his remonſtrances was an order from the ſtates-general to depart Holland in twenty-four hours *.

Lewis XIV. when he heard the rigorous terms impoſed upon him, ſaid to Rouillé, "Well then, ſince I muſt make war, I would rather it ſhould be againſt my enemies than my children." He then made preparations to try his fortune once more in Flanders; the famine, which had laid waſte the countries round, proved a reſource for the war; thoſe who wanted bread enliſted for ſoldiers. Many lands lay untilled; but we had an army. Marſhal Villars, who had been ſent the preceding year into Savoy, to command a few troops whoſe ardour was revived by his preſence, and who had met with ſome little ſucceſſes, was recalled into Flanders, as the perſon in whom his country placed all her hopes.

Marlborough had already taken Tournai; and with prince Eugene, who had covered the ſiege, marched to inveſt Mons. Marſhal Villars advanced to prevent them, having with him marſhal Boufflers, a ſenior officer, but who had deſired to ſerve under him. Boufflers had a true affection for his king and country; he

* Torci had actually agreed to preliminaries which Lewis rejected; and it was in conſequence of this rejection that Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four and twenty hours.

proved, on this occaſion, (notwithſtanding what has been ſaid by a very ſenſible man) that there are virtues in a monarchical ſtate, eſpecially under a good maſter. There are doubtleſs as many as in a republic, with leſs enthuſiaſm perhaps, but with more of what is called honour.

As ſoon as the French advanced to oppoſe the inveſting of Mons, the allies, on their ſide advanced to attack them near the wood of Blangies and the village of Malplaquet.

The two armies conſiſted of about eighty thouſand men each; but the allies had forty-two battalions more. The French brought eighty pieces of cannon into the field, the allies one hundred and forty. The duke of Marlborough commanded the right wing, compoſed of the Engliſh and German troops in Engliſh pay; prince Eugene was in the center; Tilli and the count of Naſſau at the left, with the Dutch.

Sep. 11 1709 Marſhal Villars took the command of the left wing of this army, and left the right to marſhal Boufflers; he had entrenched his army in haſte *, a method perhaps moſt ſuitable to his troops, that were inferior in numbers, and had been a long time unſucceſsful, and conſiſted of one half recruits; it was moſt ſuitable likewiſe to our condition at that time; as an entire defeat would have intirely ruined the nation. Some hiſtorians have found fault with the diſpoſition made by

* Their camp was fortified with triple intrenchments; and they were ſo fortified with lines, intrenchments, cannon and trees laid acroſs, that they ſeemed to be quite inacceſſible.

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the marſhal: "He ought, (ſay they) to have paſſed a large hollow, inſtead of having it in his front." Is it not being rather too diſcerning to judge thus from our cloſet of what paſſes in a field of battle?

All that I know is, the marſhal himſelf ſaid, that the ſoldiers who had had no bread for a whole day, and had juſt their allowance diſtributed among them, threw half of it away, to make the greater haſte to come to action. There has not been for many ages a longer or more obſtinate battle; none more bloody. I ſhall ſay nothing touching this action but what has been univerſally acknowledged. The enemies left wing, where the Dutch fought, was almoſt entirely cut to pieces; and we purſued them with the bayonets at the end of the piece. Marlborough at the right made and withſtood ſurpriſing efforts. Marſhal Villars had occaſion to thin his center to oppoſe Marlborough; at that very inſtant the center was attacked, the entrenchments which covered it were carried, the regiment of guards who defended them making no reſiſtance. The marſhal, in riding from his left wing to his center, was wounded, and the day was loſt; the field of battle was covered with the bodies of thirty thouſand men, killed and dying.

The loſs of the French in this battle did not amount to more than eight thouſand men; the enemy left near twenty-one thouſand killed and wounded, but the center being forced, and the two wings cut off, thoſe who had made the greateſt ſlaughter loſt the day.

Marſhal Boufflers* made a retreat in good order, with the aſſiſtance of the prince of Tingri-Montmorenci, afterwards marſhal Luxembourg, inheritor of the valour of his anceſtors. The army retired between Queſnoi and Valenciennes, carrying with them ſeveral ſtandards and colours they had taken from the enemy †. Lewis XIV. comforted himſelf with theſe ſpoils, and it was eſteemed a victory to have diſputed the day ſo long, and to have loſt only the field of battle. Marſhal Villars, at his return to court, aſſured the king, that if he had not been wounded, he ſhould have gained the victory. I know the general himſelf was perſuaded of this, but I know very few people beſides who believe it.

It may ſeem ſurpriſing, that anarmy, which had killed the enemy near two thirds more men than it loſt itſelf, ſhould not endeavour to prevent thoſe who had gained no other advantage but that of lying in the midſt of their dead, from going to lay ſiege to Mons. The Dutch were fearful for the ſucceſs of this enterprize, and heſitated for ſome time; but the conquered are frequently impoſed upon, and diſheartened, by the name of having loſt the battle. Men never do all that they might do, and the ſoldier who is told he is beaten, fears to be beaten again. Thus Mons was beſieged and taken,

* In a book, intitled, *Memoirs of marſhal Berwick*, it is ſaid, that marſhal Berwick made this retreat. In this manner are a number of memoirs written.

† The allies took above forty colours and ſtandards, ſixteen pieces of cannon, and a conſiderable number of priſoners,

and

and all for the Dutch, who kept poſſeſſion of this town, as they had done of Liſle and Tournai. Oct. 11, 1709

CHAP. CLXXXV.

LEWIS XIV. continues to ſollicit peace, and to defend himſelf. The Duke of VENDOME ſecures the King of SPAIN on his throne.

THE enemy not only continued thus advancing by degrees, and levelled all the barriers of France on this ſide, but they pretended, with the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy, to ſurpriſe Franche Compté, and penetrate at once by both ends to the heart of the kingdom. General Merci, who was charged with facilitating this enterprize, by entering into Upper Alſace by the city of Baſil, was happily ſtopt near the iſle of Newburg on the Rhine, by the count, afterwards marſhal Dubourg. By an unaccountable fatality, all thoſe of the name of Merci have been as unſucceſsful as eſteemed. This was defeated in the completeſt manner. Nothing was undertaken on the ſide of Savoy, but much was apprehended in regard to Flanders; the domeſtic affairs of the kingdom were in ſo languid a ſtate, that the king once more ſollicited peace like a ſuppliant; he offered to acknowledge the archduke for king of Spain; to withdraw all aſſiſtance from his grandſon, and leave him to his fate; to deliver up four places as ſecurities; to Aug. 26, 1709

reſtore

reſtore Straſbourg and Briſac; to reſign the ſovereignty of Alſace, reſerving only the prefecture; to demoliſh all the fortified places between Baſil and Philipſbourg; to fill up the long formidable harbour of Dunkirk, and demoliſh its fortifications; and to leave Liſle, Tournai, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Condé, and Maubeuge, in the hands of the ſtates-general. Theſe were in part the articles propoſed, to ſerve as a baſis for the peace which he ſollicited.

The allies, determined to have the triumph of diſcuſſing the ſubmiſſive propoſals of Lewis XIV. permitted his plenipotentiaries to come to the little town of Gertruydenberg, in the beginning of the year 1710, to preſent their maſter's ſupplications. Lewis made choice of marſhal d'Uxelles, a man of great coolneſs and taciturnity, and of a diſpoſition rather prudent than elevated or bold; with him was joined the abbé, afterwards cardinal Polignac, one of the brighteſt wits, and moſt eloquent orators of his age, and of a moſt engaging perſon and addreſs; but wit, prudence, and eloquence, are of no ſervice in a miniſter, when the maſter is unſucceſsful. It is conqueſt that makes treaties. The ambaſſadors of Lewis XIV. were rather confined in Gertruydenberg than received there. The deputies came to hear their propoſals, which they tranſmitted to the Hague to prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and count Zinzendorf, ambaſſador from the emperor. Theſe propoſals were almoſt always received with contempt. The plenipotentiaries were inſulted by the moſt abuſive libels, the work of French refugees, who were become more inveterate enemies to the glory of Lewis

Lewis XIV. than even prince Eugene or the duke of Marlborough *.

Though the French plenipotentiaries carried their ſubmiſſion ſo far as to promiſe for the king, that he ſhould furniſh money to dethrone Philip V. they were not liſtened to. It was inſiſted upon as a preliminary, that Lewis XIV. ſhould engage alone to drive his grandſon out of Spain by force of arms. This abſurd piece of inhumanity aroſe from freſh ſucceſſes.

While the allies were thus treating Lewis XIV. like maſters irritated againſt his pride and greatneſs, the city of Douay fell into their hands; and ſoon afterwards Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant; and lord Stair propoſed to ſend parties to the gates of Paris.

Almoſt at the ſame time the archduke's army, commanded by Guy Staremberg, the neareſt in military reputation to prince Eugene of all the German generals, gained a complete victory near Saragoſſa †, over that army in which Philip and his adherents had placed their hopes, and that was commanded by the marquis de Bay, an unfortunate general. Here again it was obſerved, that the two rival kings, though within reach of their armies, were not preſent at this battle. Of all the princes for whom Europe was then up in arms, the duke of Savoy was the only one

Aug. 20, 1710

* And they had more reaſon ſo to be.

† The whole cavalry of Philip were defeated at Almenara, by the allied horſe commanded by general Stanhope, who, with his own hand, ſlew general Ameſſaga, commander of the Spaniſh guards. General Staremberg followed Philip's army to Saragoſſa, where they gave him battle, on the ninth day of Auguſt, and were totally defeated:

who

who fought his own battles. It was a melancholly conſideration, that he could acquire his glory only by fighting againſt his two daughters, one of whom he endeavoured to dethrone, in order to gain a ſmall ſpot of ground in Lombardy, about which the emperor Joſeph already began to make ſome difficulties, and that he would have have been ſtript of the very firſt opportunity.

This emperor, who was ſucceſsful every where, ſhewed no moderation in his good fortune. By his own pure authority he diſmembered Bavaria, and beſtowed the fiefs thereof on his relations and creatures. He deſpoiled the young duke of Mirandola of his dominions in Italy, and the princes of the empire maintained an army for him on the Rhine, without thinking that they were labouring to cement a power of which they ſtood in dread; ſo much did the old reigning hatred to the name of Lewis XIV. occupy every mind, as if their chief intereſt had been concerned therein. Joſeph had likewiſe the good fortune to ſuppreſs the rebellious Hungarians. The court of France had ſet up prince Ragotſki againſt him, who came armed with his own pretenſions and thoſe of his countrymen. Ragotſki was beaten, his town taken, and his party ruined. Thus Lewis XIV. was equally unfortunate abroad and at home, by ſea and by land, in his public negociations and his private intrigues.

It was believed by all Europe at that time, that the archduke Charles, brother to the fortunate Joſeph, would reign without a competitor in Spain. Europe was threatened with a power more formidable than that of Charles V. and

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the Engliſh, ſo long the declared foes of the Auſtrian-Spaniſh branch, and the Dutch, its revolted ſlaves, were thoſe who exerted themſelves to eſtabliſh it. Philip V. who had taken refuge in Madrid, quitted it again, and retired to Valladolid, while the archduke Charles made his entry as a conqueror.

The French king could no longer ſupply his grandſon with ſuccours; he had been obliged to do that partly through neceſſity which the allies had exacted of him at Gertruydenberg, to abandon the cauſe of Philip, by ſending for thoſe troops that were yet in Spain for his own defence, being hardly able to make head againſt the powerful efforts of the enemy in Savoy, on the Rhine, and in Flanders, where the ſtreſs of the war chiefly lay.

Spain was in a ſtill more deplorable ſituation than France. Almoſt all its provinces had been laid waſte by its enemies and friends. It was attacked by Portugal. Its trade was deſtroyed. There was a general dearth throughout the kingdom; but this indeed was more ſeverely felt by the victors than by the vanquiſhed, becauſe the common people throughout this great country gave all in their power to Philip, for whom they had an affection, and refuſed every thing to the Auſtrians. Philip had no longer a general or troops from France; the duke of Orleans, by whom his drooping fortune had been a little raiſed, inſtead of commanding his army, was become his enemy. It is certain, that notwithſtanding the affection the inhabitants of Madrid had for Philip, and the fidelity of the grandees and all Caſtile, he had ſtill a powerful party againſt him in Spain. The Catalonians, a war-

a warlike and headſtrong nation, were, to a man, obſtinately attached to his rival. One half of Arragon had likewiſe been gained over. One party of the people waited the event of affairs, and the other hated the archduke more than they loved Philip. The duke of Orleans, the nameſake of Philip, diſguſted with the Spaniſh miniſtry, and ſtill more diſpleaſed with the princeſs Urſini, who governed affairs, began to think that he might ſecure for himſelf the country which he was ſent to defend; and when Lewis XIV. himſelf propoſed to give up his grandſon, and that an abdication was already talked of in Spain, the duke of Orleans thought himſelf worthy of filling the throne which Philip V. would be obliged to reſign. He had ſome pretenſions to that place which had been left unnoticed in the king of Spain's will, and which his father had ſupported by a proteſt.

By means of his agents he made an agreement with ſome of the grandees, who engaged to place him on the throne, in caſe Philip V. ſhould quit it. In this caſe, he would have found many of the Spaniards ready to liſt under the ſtandard of a prince who was ſo complete a warrior. This ſcheme, had it ſucceeded, could not have diſpleaſed the maritime powers, as there would have been leſs apprehenſion of ſeeing the kingdoms of France and Spain united in one perſon, and fewer obſtacles to the peace. The project was diſcovered at Madrid about the beginning of 1709, while the duke of Orleans was at Verſailles, and his agents in Spain were impriſoned. Philip V. never forgave his couſin for thinking him capable of abdicating, and endeavouring to ſucceed him. In France the whole

whole kingdom cried out againſt the duke of Orleans. The dauphin, father to Philip V. propoſed in council to bring the offender to juſtice; but the king choſe rather to paſs in ſilence this abortive and pardonable ſcheme, than to puniſh a nephew, at the time that a grandſon was on the verge of ruin.

In fine, about the time of the battle of Saragoſſa, the Spaniſh council and moſt of the grandees, finding they had no leader to oppoſe to Staremberg, whom they looked upon as a ſecond Eugene, wrote in a body to Lewis XIV. requeſting him to ſend them the duke de Vendôme. This prince, who had retired to Anet, ſet out immediately, and his preſence was as good as an army. The Spaniards were ſtruck with the great reputation he had gained in Italy, which the unfortunate campaign of Liſle had not been able to impair. His affability, openneſs, and liberality, which latter qualification he carried to a degree of profuſion, and his love for his ſoldiers, won him all hearts; the moment he ſet his foot in Spain there happened to him what had formerly happened to Bertrand du Gueſclin; his name alone drew a croud of volunteers. He wanted money; the corporations of the towns and villages, and the religious communities, ſupplied him. The nation was ſeized with a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm. The ſcattered troops left after the battle of Saragoſſa aſſembled together under him at Valladolid. Every place exerted itſelf in furniſhing recruits. The duke de Vendôme, without allowing time for this freſh ardour to cool, goes in purſuit of the conquerors, brings the king back to Madrid, obliges the enemy, Auguſt, 1710

enemy to retire towards the frontiers of Portugal, follows them thither, makes his army ſwim over the Tagus, takes general Stanhope priſoner in Brihuega with five thouſand Engliſh, comes up with general Staremberg at Villa Vicioſa, and gives him battle the next day. Philip V. who had not accompanied any of his former generals to the fight, animated with the duke of Vendôme's ſpirit, put himſelf at the head of the right wing, while that general took the left. A complete victory was gained over the enemy *; and, in leſs than four months time, this great general, who had been called in when things were at the laſt extremity, retrieved all, and ſecured the crown for ever on the head of Philip V.

Dec. 9, 1710

While the allies remained confounded at this ſurpriſing revolution, one of a more ſecret kind, though equally important, was preparing in England.

Sarah Jennings, dutcheſs of Marlborough, governed queen Anne, and the duke, her huſband, governed the ſtate. He had the treaſury

* Stanhope was ſurpriſed, ſurrounded, and, after a very obſtinate reſiſtance, obliged to ſurrender himſelf and all his forces, amounting to two thouſand men, including three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, and one brigadier. At Villa Vicioſa, Staremberg fought againſt double his number. His left wing was utterly defeated; but with the remainder of his troops he maintained his ground till night, when the enemy retired in diſorder, leaving him maſter of the field and all their artillery, after having loſt above ſix thouſand men, who were killed on the ſpot. Staremberg had ſuffered ſo much in the battle, that he could not pretend to maintain his ground any longer; he therefore ordered their cannon to be nailed up, and retired to Catalonia.

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at his command, through the means of the lord high treaſurer Godolphin, whoſe ſon had married one of his daughters. His ſon-in-law, Sunderland, who was ſecretary of ſtate, ſubmitted every thing in the cabinet to him, and the queen's houſhold, where his wife had an unlimited authority, was at his devotion. He was maſter of the army, while he had the diſpoſal of all poſts.

England was at that time divided between two parties, the whigs and the tories. The whigs, at whoſe head he was, did every thing that could contribute to his greatneſs; and the tories had been forced to admire him in ſilence. It is not unworthy of hiſtory to add, that the duke and dutcheſs were the two handſomeſt perſons of their time; and that this advantage contributes not a little to impoſe upon the multitude, when accompanied with dignities and honour.

The duke had more intereſt at the Hague than the penſionary; and had great influence in Germany, had always been ſucceſsful as a negociator and general, and enjoyed a more extenſive ſhare of power and reputation, than had ever been the lot of any one private man. He could likewiſe ſtrengthen his power by the immenſe riches he had acquired during his having the command. I have heard his widow ſay, that, after he had given fortunes to his four children, he had remaining, independent of any gifts from the crown, ſeventy thouſand pounds *per ann.* clear money, which makes about one million five hundred thouſand of our livres. Had not his frugality been equal to his greatneſs, he might have formed a party in the

king-

kingdom that queen Anne could not eaſily have overthrown; and had his wife been a little more complaiſant, the queen would never have broke her chains. But the duke could never get the better of his thirſt for riches, nor the dutcheſs of her capricious temper. The queen loved her with a tenderneſs that went even to ſubmiſſion, and a giving up of all will. In attachments of this nature, we generally find that diſlike begins firſt on the ſide of the monarch: caprice, pride, and an abuſe of ſuperiority, are the things which firſt make the yoke felt, and all theſe the dutcheſs of Marlborough heaped upon her miſtreſs with a heavy hand. The queen, who could not want a favourite, turned her eyes upon lady Maſham, one of the ladies of her bed-chamber. The dutcheſs could not conceal her jealouſy; it broke out on a thouſand occaſions. A pair of gloves of a particular faſhion which ſhe refuſed the queen, and a jar of water that ſhe let fall in her preſence upon lady Maſham's gown, by an affected miſtake, changed the face of affairs in Europe. Matters grew warm between the two parties. The new favourite's brother aſked the duke for a regiment; the duke refuſed it, upon which the queen gave it him herſelf. The tories laid hold of this conjuncture to free the queen from her domeſtic ſlavery, humble the power of the duke, change the miniſtry, make peace, and if poſſible replace the Stewart family on the throne of England *. If the diſpoſition of the dutcheſs would

* We can affirm, on the very beſt authority, that the tories never harboured any ſuch deſign. There might indeed be ſome Jacobites among them, who ſecretly entertained

would have allowed her to make ſome conceſſions, ſhe might ſtill have retained her power. The queen and ſhe had been uſed to write to each other every day, under borrowed names: this myſterious familiarity always left the way open for a reconciliation; but the dutcheſs made uſe of this reſource only to make things worſe. She wrote to the queen in the moſt inſolent terms; and, among other expreſſions made uſe of the following; "Do me juſtice, and make me no anſwer." She ſoon repented of what ſhe had done, and went to aſk pardon of the queen with tears in her eyes; but her majeſty made her only this reply; "You have ordered me not to anſwer you, and I ſhall not anſwer you." After this the breach was irreparable; the dutcheſs appeared no more at court, and ſome time afterwards Sunderland, the duke's ſon-in-law, was removed from the miniſtry, as the firſt ſtep towards turning out Godolphin, and then the duke himſelf. In other kingdoms this is called a diſgrace; in England it is only a change of affairs; but this was a change very difficult to be brought about. The tories, tho' maſters of the queen, were not of the kingdom; they found themſelves obliged to have recourſe to religion. At preſent there is little more religion in Great Britain than what is juſt ſufficient to diſtinguiſh factions. The whigs inclined to preſbyterianiſm. This was the faction that had de-

tained notions of that kind; but theſe they carefully concealed from the party with which they aſſociated. Some too were driven into jacobitiſm by hard uſage: but the tories in general had no intention to alter that ſucceſſion which they themſelves eſtabliſhed.

throned

throned James II. perſecuted Charles II. and brought Charles I. to the block. The tories were in the epiſcopal intereſt, that favoured the houſe of Stewart, and wanted to introduce the doctrine of paſſive obedience to kings, becauſe the biſhops hoped, by that means, to have more obedience paid to themſelves. A clergyman was procured to preach up this doctrine in St. Paul's cathedral, and to ſet forth, in the moſt odious light, the adminiſtration of the duke of Marlborough, and the meaſures of the party who had given the crown to king William; but notwithſtanding the queen ſecretly favoured this preacher, ſhe could not prevent his being ſilenced for three years by the two houſes, aſſembled in Weſtminſter-hall, who ordered his ſermon to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. She felt her want of power ſtill more ſenſibly, in not daring to indulge the calls of blood in opening a way for her brother to that throne which the whigs had barred againſt him. Thoſe writers who ſay that Marlborough and his party fell the inſtant the queen ceaſed to ſupport them with her favour, know nothing of the affairs of England. The queen, though now deſirous of peace, did not dare to remove Marlborough from the command of her armies; and, in the ſpring of 1711, he was ſtill purſuing his conqueſts over France, though in diſgrace at his own court. A private agent from France was ſent to London; to propoſe conditions of peace under-hand; but the queen's new miniſtry did not dare to accept them as yet.

A new event, as unforeſeen as the others, completed this great work. The emperor Joſeph

ſeph died, and left the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, and the German empire, together with the pretenſions to Spain and America, to his brother Charles, who was elected emperor ſome months afterwards. April 17, 1711.

On the firſt news of his death, the prejudices which had put arms into the hands of ſo many nations, began to be diſſipated in England by the care of the new miniſtry. The war, ſaid they, was begun to prevent Lewis XIV. from governing Spain, America, Lombardy, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in the name of his grandſon; why then ſhould we endeavour to unite all theſe kingdoms in the family of Charles VI? Why muſt the Engliſh nation exhauſt its treaſures? We have paid more to the war than Germany and Holland together. The expences of this year alone amounts to ſeven millions ſterling; and is the nation to ruin itſelf for a cauſe it has no concern with, and to procure a part of Flanders for the Dutch, our rivals in trade? All theſe arguments emboldened the queen, and opened the eyes of a great part of the nation, and a new parliament being called, the queen was at liberty to prepare matters for the peace of Europe.

But though ſhe might do this privately, ſhe could not as yet publicly break with her allies; ſo that while they were negociating in the cabinet, Marlborough was carrying on the ſervice in the field. He ſtill continued advancing in Flanders, where he forced the lines that

Sept. 1711 marſhal Villars had drawn from Montreuil to Valenciennes, took Bouchain, advanced as far as Queſnoi, and from thence was proceeding towards Paris, which had not a ſingle rampart to oppoſe him.

It was at this unfortunate period that the famous Dugué-trouin, who had not as yet any rank in the ſea ſervice, and owed every thing to himſelf, by his own courage, and the aſſiſtance of ſome merchants who furniſhed him with money, fitted out a ſmall fleet, and ſailed to the Braſils, where he took one of the principal cities called St. Sebaſtian de Rio Janeiro. He and his crew returned home loaded with riches, and the Portugueſe loſt even more than he had gained; but the miſchief that he had done in the Braſils did not alleviate the miſeries of France.

Sept. and Oct. 1711

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXXXVI.

Victory gained by Marſhal VILLARS at DENAIN. The Affairs of FRANCE retrieved. The general Peace.

THE negociations which were now openly ſet on foot in London, proved more ſalutary. The queen ſent the earl of Strafford ambaſſador to Holland, to communicate to the ſtates the propoſals made by Lewis XIV. Marlborough's leave was no longer aſked. The earl of Strafford obliged the Dutch to name plenipotentiaries, and to receive thoſe of France.

Three private perſons ſtill continued to oppoſe the peace; theſe were Marlborough, prince Eugene, and Heinſius, who perſiſted in their intention of cruſhing Lewis XIV. but when the Engliſh general returned to London, at the cloſe of the campaign in 1711, he was deprived of all his employments; he found a new houſe of commons, and had no longer the majority in the houſe of lords. The queen, by creating a number of new peers, had weakened the duke's party, and ſtrengthened the crown intereſt. He was now accuſed, like Scipio, of malverſation; and, like that hero, extricated himſelf by his reputation and by retiring. He was ſtill powerful, though in diſgrace. Prince Eugene himſelf came over to London, on purpoſe to ſtrengthen his party. This prince met with the reception due to his birth and reputation, but his propoſals were rejected. The court-intereſt prevailed, prince Eugene returned

to end the war alone, with the freſh incentive of a proſpect of victory, without a companion to divide the honour.

While the congreſs was aſſembling at Utrecht, and the French plenipotentiaries, who had been ſo ill uſed at Gertruydenberg, now returned to treat upon more equal terms, marſhal Villars lay behind his lines to cover Arras and Cambray. Prince Eugene took the town of Queſnoy, and overſpread the country with an army of an hundred thouſand men. The Dutch had exerted themſelves; and though they had never before furniſhed their whole quota towards the neceſſary expences of the war, they had this year exceeded their contingent. Queen Anne could not as yet openly diſengage herſelf from them; ſhe had ſent the duke of Ormond to join prince Eugene's army with twelve thouſand Engliſh, and ſtill kept in pay a number of German troops. Prince Eugene, after burning the ſuburbs of Arras, advanced towards the French army, and propoſed to the duke of Ormond to give them battle; but the Engliſh general had been ſent with orders not to fight. The private negociations between England and France drew towards a concluſion: a ſuſpenſion of arms was proclaimed between the two crowns. Lewis XIV. put Dunkirk into the hands of the Engliſh, as a ſecurity for the performance of his engagements. The duke of Ormond then retired towards Ghent: he endeavoured to take with him the troops that were in the queen's pay; but none would follow him except four ſquadrons of the regiment of Holſtein, and one regiment of Liege. The troops of Brandenburg, Saxony, Heſſe, and Denmark, remained with

prince Eugene, and were paid by the Dutch. The elector of Hanover himſelf, who was to ſucceed queen Anne on the throne of England, notwithſtanding her remonſtrances, continued his troops in the pay of the allies, which plainly ſhewed, that the pretenſions of his family to the crown of England did not depend upon queen Anne's favour.

Prince Eugene, though deprived of the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, was ſtill ſuperior by twenty thouſand men to the French army; he was likewiſe ſuperior by his poſition, by the great plenty of magazines, and by nine years of continued victories.

Marſhal Villars could not prevent him from laying ſiege to Landrecy. France, exhauſted of men and money, was in conſternation, and people placed no great dependence on the conferences at Utrecht, which might be all overthrown by the ſucceſſes of prince Eugene. Several conſiderable detachments had already entered Champagne and ravaged the country, and advanced as far as the gates of Rheims.

The alarm was now as great at Verſailles as in the reſt of the kingdom. The death of the king's only ſon, which fell out this year, the duke of Burgundy, the dutcheſs his wife, and their eldeſt ſon, all carried to their graves the ſame day, and the only remaining child at the point of death; all theſe domeſtic misfortunes, added to thoſe from without, and the ſufferings of the people, made the cloſe of Lewis XIV's reign conſidered as a time pointed out for calamities, and every one expected to ſee more diſaſters than they had formerly ſeen greatneſs and glory.

Preciſely at this period, the duke de Vendôme died in Spain. The general diſpiritedneſs which ſeized upon the French nation on this occaſion, of which I remember to have been myſelf a witneſs, filled them with apprehenſions, leſt Spain, which had been ſupported by the duke de Vendôme, ſhould fall with him.

As Landrecy could not hold out long, it was debated at Verſailles, whether the king ſhould retire to Chambord. On this occaſion he told the marſhal d'Harcourt, that, in caſe of any freſh misfortune, he would aſſemble the nobility of his kingdom, lead them in perſon againſt the enemy, notwithſtanding he was now upwards of ſeventy, and die fighting at their head.

A fault committed by prince Eugene delivered the king and kingdom from theſe dreadful inquietudes. It is ſaid, that his lines were too much extended; that his magazines at Marchiennes were at too great a diſtance; and that general Albemarle, who was poſted between Denain and the prince's camp, was not within reach of aſſiſting him ſoon enough, in caſe he was attacked. I have been aſſured, that a beautiful Italian lady, whom I ſaw ſometime afterwards at the Hague, and whom prince Eugene then kept, lived in Marchiennes; and that it was on her account that this was made a place for magazines. It is doing injuſtice to prince Eugene, to ſuppoſe that a woman could have any ſhare in his military arrangements; but when we know that a curate, and a counſellor of Douay, named le Fevre d'Orval walking together in thoſe quarters, firſt conceived the idea that Denain and Marchiennes might eaſily

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be attacked; this will better ſerve to prove, by what ſecret and weak ſprings the great affairs of this world are often directed. Le Fevre communicated his notion to the intendant of the province, and he to marſhal Monteſquiou, who commanded under marſhal Villars; the general approved of the ſcheme, and put it into execution. To this action, in fact, France owed her ſafety more than to the peace ſhe made with England. Marſhal Villars put a deceit upon prince Eugene; a body of dragoons was ordered to advance in ſight of the enemy's camp, as if going to attack it; and while theſe dragoons retired towards Guiſe, the marſhal marched towards Denain with his army drawn up in five columns, July 24, 1712. forced general Albemarle's intrenchments, defended by ſeventeen battalions, who were all killed or made priſoners. The general himſelf ſurrendered priſoner of war, with two princes of the houſe of Naſſau, the prince of Holſtein, the prince of Anhalt, and all the officers of the detachment. Prince Eugene marched in haſte to their aſſiſtance, but did not come up till the action was over; and, in endeavouring to get poſſeſſion of a bridge that led to Denain, he loſt a number of his men, and was obliged to return to his camp, after having been witneſs of this defeat.

All the poſts along the Scarpe, as far as Marchiennes, were carried, one after another, with the utmoſt rapidity; the army then puſhed directly for Marchiennes, which was defended by four thouſand men; the ſiege was carried on with the greateſt vigour, and in three days time the garriſon were made priſoners of war;

July 30, 1712 all the ammunition and proviſions that the enemy had laid up for the whole campaign, fell into our hands. The ſuperiority was now wholly on the ſide of marſhal Villars; the enemy diſcouraged, raiſed the ſiege of Landrecy, and ſoon afterwards ſaw Douay, Queſnoi, and Bouchain, retaken by our troops. The frontiers were now in ſafety. Prince Eugene drew off his army, after having loſt near fifty battalions, forty of whom were made priſoners between the fight of Denain and the end of the campaign. The moſt ſignal victory could not have produced greater advantages.

Sept. and Oct. 1712

Had marſhal Villars been poſſeſſed of the ſame ſhare of popular favour with ſome other generals, he would have been publicly called the reſtorer of France, inſtead of which they hardly acknowleged the obligations they had to him, and envy prevailed over the public joy for this unexpected ſucceſs.

Every ſtep of marſhal de Villars haſtened the peace of Utrecht; queen Anne's miniſtry, as anſwerable to their country and to Europe for their actions, neglected nothing that concerned the intereſt of England and its allies, and the ſafety of the public weal. In the firſt place, they inſiſted that Philip V. now ſettled on the throne of Spain, ſhould renounce his right to the crown of France, which he had hitherto conſtantly maintained; and that the duke of Berry, his brother, preſumptive heir to that crown, after the only remaining great grandſon of Lewis XIV. then at the point of death, ſhould likewiſe renounce all pretenſions to the crown of

of Spain, in caſe he ſhould come to be king of France. They likewiſe exacted the ſame on the part of the duke of Orleans. The late twelve years war had ſhewn how little men are to be bound by ſuch acts; there is no one known law that obliges the deſcendants of a prince to give up their right to a throne becauſe their father may have renounced it. Theſe renunciations are of no effect, except when the common intereſt is in concert with them; but however they ſerved to calm, for the preſent, a twelve years ſtorm; and it is probable, that one day, ſeveral nations may join to ſupport theſe renunciations that are now the baſis of the balance of power, and the tranquility of Europe.

By this treaty the iſland of Sicily was given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king, and on the continent the towns of Feneſtrelles, Exilles, with the valley of Pragilas: ſo that they took from the houſe of Bourbon, to aggrandize him.

The Dutch had a conſiderable barrier given them, which they had always been aiming at; and if the houſe of Bourbon was deſpoiled of ſome territories in favour of the duke of Savoy, the houſe of Auſtria was, on the other hand, ſtript to ſatisfy the Dutch, who were become at its expence the guarantees and maſters of the ſtrongeſt cities of Flanders. Due regard was paid to the intereſt of the Dutch with reſpect to trade; and there was an article ſtipulated likewiſe in favour of the Portugueſe.

The ſovereignty of the ten provinces of the Spaniſh Netherlands was reſerved for the emperor, together with the advantageous lordſhip of

the barrier towns. They likewiſe guarantied to him the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with all his poſſeſſions in Lombardy, and the four ports on the coaſt of Tuſcany. But the court of Vienna would not ſubſcribe to theſe conditions, as thinking ſhe had not ſufficient juſtice done her.

As to England, her glory and intereſt were ſufficiently ſecured. She had obtained the demolition of the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk, which had been the object of ſo much jealouſy. She was left in poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca by Spain. France ceded to her Hudſon's bay, the iſland of Newfoundland, and Acadia; and ſhe procured greater privileges for her American trade than had been granted even to the French, who placed Philip V. on the throne. We muſt likewiſe reckon among the glorious acts of the Engliſh miniſtry its having engaged Lewis XIV. to conſent to ſet at liberty thoſe of his ſubjects who were confined in priſon on account of their religion; this was dictating laws, but laws of a very reſpectable nature.

Laſtly, queen Anne, ſacrificing the rights of blood, and the ſecret inclinations of her heart, to the deſires of her country, ſecured the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain to the houſe of Hanover.

As to the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the former was to keep the dutchy of Luxembourg and the county of Namur till his brother and himſelf ſhould be reſtored to their electorates; for Spain had ceded thoſe two ſovereignties to the elector of Bavaria, as a conſideration for

for his loſſes, and the allies had taken neither of them during the war.

For France, who demoliſhed Dunkirk, and gave up ſo many places in Flanders that her arms had formerly conquered, and that had been ſecured to her by the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryſwick, ſhe got back Liſle, Aire, Bethune, and Saint-Venant.

Thus did the Engliſh miniſtry to all appearance do juſtice to every one; but this was denied them by the whigs; and one half of the nation reviled the memory of queen Anne, for having done the greateſt good that a ſovereign poſſibly could do, in giving peace to ſo many nations. She was reproached with not having diſmembered France, when it was in her power to do it.

All theſe treaties were ſigned, one after another, in the courſe of the year 1713; but whether it was owing to the obſtinacy of prince Eugene, or to the bad politics of the emperor's council, that monarch did not enter into any of theſe negociations. He would certainly have had Landau, and perhaps Straſbourg, had he at firſt fallen in with the views of queen Anne and her miniſtry; but he was bent upon continuing the war, and ſo got nothing.

Marſhal Villars having ſecured the reſt of French Flanders, marched towards the Rhine, and, after making himſelf maſter of Spires, Worms, and all the circumjacent country, he took Landau, Aug. 20, 1713 which the emperor might have had by acceding to the peace, forced the lines that prince Eugene had ordered to be Sept. 20 drawn

drawn from Briſgau, defeated marſhal Vaubonne, who defended thoſe lines; and laſtly, beſieged and took Friburg, the capital of Upper Auſtria.

Oct. 30

The council of Vienna preſſed the circles of the empire to ſend the ſuccours they had promiſed, but no ſuccours came. They now began to be ſenſible that the emperor, without the aſſiſtance of England and Holland, could never prevail againſt France, and reſolved upon peace when it was too late.

Marſhal Villars, after having thus put an end to the war, had the additional honour of concluding the peace with prince Eugene, at Raſtad. This was perhaps the firſt time that two generals of oppoſite parties had been known to meet together at the cloſe of a campaign, to treat in the names of their maſters. They both brought with them that openneſs of character for which they were diſtinguiſhed. I have heard marſhal Villars relate, that one of the firſt things he ſaid to prince Eugene was this: "Sir, we do not meet as enemies; your enemies are at Vienna, and mine at Verſailles." And in fact both of them had always cabals to combat at their reſpective courts.

There was no notice taken in this treaty of the pretenſions which the emperor ſtill maintained to the Spaniſh monarchy, nor of the empty title of Catholic King, that he continued to bear after Philip V. was in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom. Lewis XIV. kept Straſbourg and Landau, which he had before offered to give up, Huninguen, and new Briſac, which he had propoſed to demoliſh, and the ſovereignty of Alſace, which he had offered to re-

renounce. But what was ſtill more honourable for him, he procured the electors of Cologne and Bavaria to be reinſtated in their ranks and dominions.

It is a very remarkable circumſtance that France in all her treaties with the emperors, has conſtantly protected the rights of the princes and ſtates of the empire. She laid the foundation of the Germanic liberties by the peace of Munſter; and cauſed an eighth electorate to be erected in favour of this very houſe of Bavaria. The treaty of Weſtphalia was confirmed by that of Nimeguen. By the treaty of Ryſwick ſhe procured all the eſtate of cardinal Furſtemberg to be reſtored to him. Laſtly, by this peace of Utrecht, ſhe obtained the re-eſtabliſhment of the two electors. It muſt be acknowledged, that throughout the whole negociation, which put an end to this long quarrel, France received laws from England, and impoſed them on the empire.

The hiſtorical memoirs of thoſe times, from which ſo many hiſtories of Lewis XIV. have been compiled, ſay that prince Eugene, when he had finiſhed the conferences, deſired the duke de Villars to embrace the knees of Lewis XIV. for him, and to preſent that monarch, in his name, with aſſurances of the moſt profound reſpect of "A ſubject towards his ſovereign." In the firſt place, it is not true, that a prince, the grand-ſon of a ſovereign, can be the ſubject of another prince, becauſe he was born in his dominions; and in the ſecond place, it is ſtill leſs ſo that prince Eugene, vicar-general of the empire, could call himſelf the ſubject of the king of France.

And

And now each ſtate took poſſeſſion of its new rights. The duke of Savoy got himſelf acknowledged in Sicily, without conſulting the emperor, who complained of it in vain. Lewis XIV. procured entrance for his troops into Liſle, the Dutch ſeized on their barrier towns, and the ſtates of the country gave them one million two hundred and fifty thouſand florins per ann. to continue maſters in Flanders. Lewis XIV. filled up the harbour of Dunkirk, raized the citadel, and demoliſhed the fortifications towards the ſea, in preſence of the Engliſh commiſſary. The inhabitants, who ſaw their whole trade ruined thereby, ſent a deputation over to London to implore the clemency of queen Anne. It was a mortifying circumſtance to Lewis XIV. that his ſubjects ſhould go to aſk favours of a queen of England; but it was ſtill more melancholy for theſe poor people to meet with a refuſal from the queen.

The king, ſometime afterwards, enlarged the canal of Mardyke, and by means of ſluices formed an harbour there, which was thought already to equal that of Dunkirk. The earl of Stair, ambaſſador from England, complained of this in warm terms to the king. It is ſaid in one of the beſt books we have, that Lewis XIV. made him this reply: "My Lord, I have always been maſter in my own kingdom, ſometimes in thoſe of others: do not put me in remembrance of it." I know of my own certain knowledge, that Lewis XIV. never made ſo improper a reply; he was far from ever having been maſter in England: he was indeed maſter in his own kingdom; but the point in queſtion was, whether he was maſter of eluding a treaty

to which he owed his repoſe, and perhaps the greateſt part of his kingdom. This however is true, that he put a ſtop to the works of Mardyck, and thus yielded to the remonſtrances of the ambaſſador, inſtead of braving them. The works of the canal of Mardyke were demoliſhed ſoon afterwards, during the regency, and the treaty accompliſhed in every point.

Notwithſtanding the peace of Utrecht and Raſtad, Philip V. was not yet in poſſeſſion of all Spain: he had ſtill Catalonia to conquer, and the iſlands of Majorca and Ivica.

It is neceſſary to know, that the emperor Charles having left his wife at Barcelona, and finding himſelf unable to carry on a war in Spain, and yet unwilling to give up his claim, or accept of the peace of Utrecht, had nevertheleſs made an agreement with queen Anne for a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips to bring away the empreſs and the troops, now uſeleſs in Catalonia. In fact, Catalonia had been already evacuated; and Starembeg, when he quitted that province, had reſigned his title of viceroy; but he left behind him all the ſeeds of a civil war, with the hopes of a ſpeedy ſuccour on the part of the emperor and the queen of England. Thoſe who had the moſt credit in that province, imagined that they might be able to form a republic under a foreign protection; and that the king of Spain would not be ſtrong enough to ſubdue them. On this occaſion, they diſplayed that character which Tacitus gave them ſo long ſince, who calls them, "An intrepid people, that count their lives for nothing when not employed in fighting."

If

If they had made half the efforts for Philip V. their king, as they then did againſt him, the archduke would never have diſputed Spain. By the obſtinate reſiſtance they made, they proved that Philip, though delivered from his competitor, was not able to reduce them by his own power. Lewis XIV. who during the latter part of the war, had not been able to aſſiſt his grand-ſon with either ſhips or ſoldiers, againſt his rival, Charles, now ſent him ſuccours againſt his rebellious ſubjects. A fleet of French ſhips blocked up the harbour of Barcelona, and marſhal Berwick laid ſiege to it by land.

The queen of England, faithful to her treaty, would not aſſiſt this city. The emperor made a vain promiſe of ſuccours. The beſieged defended themſelves with a courage that was fortified by fanaticiſm. The prieſts and monks ran to arms, and mounted the trenches, as if it had been a religious war. A phantom of liberty rendered them deaf to all the advances made to them by their maſter. Upwards of five hundred eccleſiaſtics died during this ſiege, with their arms in their hands: we may judge whether by their ſpeeches and examples they helped to animate the people.

They hung out a black enſign upon the breach, and ſtood ſeveral aſſaults; at length the beſiegers having made their way into the town, the beſieged diſputed ſtreet after ſtreet; and having retreated into the new town, after the old one was taken, they offered to capitulate on condition of being allowed all their privileges; but they only obtained their lives and eſtates. Moſt part of their privileges were taken from them.

them. Sixty monks were condemned to the gallies, and this was the only vengeance taken by the conquerors. Philip V. had, during the war, treated the little town of Xativa much more ſeverely, by ordering it to be razed from the foundation as an example; but though he might do this to a town of no importance, he would not deſtroy a large city that had a fine ſea-port, and was of uſe to the ſtate.

This fury of the Catalans, that had not exerted itſelf while Charles VI. was among them, and which tranſported them to ſuch extremes when they were left without aſſiſtance, was the laſt ſpark of that flame which had been lighted up by the will of Charles II. king of Spain, and had ſo long laid waſte the moſt beautiful part of Europe.

END of the SEVENTH VOLUME.